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The Arts and Crafts of the Nations

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THE ARTS AND CRAFTS OF OUR TEUTONIC FOREFATHERS

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I. THE TASSILO CUP.

II. FIBULA FROM TREASURE OF PETROSSA.

III. GOLD VASES FROM NAGY SZENT MIKLOS.

IV. SWORD HILT OF CHILDERIC.

THE ARTS & CRAFTS OF OUR TEUTONIC FOREFATHERS

BEING THE SUBSTANCE OF THE RHIND LECTURES FOR 1909

B920

BY

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CONTAINING

TWENTY-TWO MAPS AND ONE HUNDRED AND THIRTY ILLUSTRATIONS

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PREFACE

THIS volume contains the substance of the Rhind Lectures delivered by the writer before the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland in the Spring of 1910. The aim of it is to afford a general introduction to the study of the art of our Teutonic forefathers, in the eventful period in which they overthrew the Roman Empire of the West, and began to found the political system of the modern world. Considerable space is allotted at the outset to those historical and geographical facts which underlie the artistic phenomena of the period, and in particular the movements and settlements of the various peoples are followed in a series of specially constructed maps.

Attention is then directed to the cemeteries in which most of the artistic remains of the Teutonic tribes have come to light; and after some general description of these, and an apportionment of them among the different branches of the Teutonic race, Goths, Burgundians, Franks, Angles, Saxons, Lombards, etc., a survey is taken of the different classes of objects, such as the weapons of the warrior, the ornaments and personal belongings of the lady, the

urns and other vessels, that formed the furniture of the graves. Illustrations are given of a large number of characteristic specimens photographed by the writer in the various museums of Europe.

The objects which furnish evidence of the artistic taste and skill of our Teutonic forefathers having been made familiar to the reader, the chief problems connected with their origin and affinities are stated and explained, the intention here being rather to survey the available evidence, and indicate the conditions under which solutions must be sought, than to discuss at length archæological questions which would require an apparatus of references, etc., foreign to the plan of the series. The much-debated work of the late Alois Riegl of Vienna entitled *Late Roman Artistic Industry* is subjected to criticism, and the question of the origin and history of inlaid gold jewellery receives a treatment corresponding to its fundamental importance.

Great attention is naturally paid to the interesting questions connected with the materials and technical processes used by the artist, and the interesting fact is brought into view that in the various processes of cunning craftsmanship our Teutonic forefathers were well abreast of their much-lauded classical ancestors and their successors of the medi-

eval period, while in the front rank of them an honourable place is taken by the goldsmiths of Anglo-Saxon Britain.

It is now recognized that in the older days art was not as in modern times a luxury, a mere adjunct to life, but was the expression of national and religious feeling, and as such was closely related to the activity of peoples in the practical and the intellectual spheres. It is not pretended that the early German art dealt with in this book was a full and adequate expression of what may be termed the Teutonic genius. For such an expression we have to look onward to the Gothic movement of the twelfth century; but it will at any rate be shown in what follows that the art with which we are here concerned was a national art, a genuine expression, though in a somewhat crude and tentative fashion, of Teutonic feeling. Furthermore it must be noted that the forms and processes developed in this early period did not die out, but were taken up into the later Romanesque, to which they supplied elements of substantial importance. No study of European art in general can be complete without taking into account this early manifestation of the artistic spirit on the part of the race that has made modern Europe.

It is believed that the book will supply a ground-

work in Teutonic antiquarian lore, such as will be found useful as a starting-point for those drawn towards special inquiries in branches of the very large and in some respects difficult subject. In connection with our own country there are many questions of great interest and complexity that will repay investigation, and in view of the importance of basing such special studies on a general survey of early Teutonic art these pages may assist students in the initial stages of work in this fascinating department of the national antiquities.

The writer's grateful acknowledgements are due to the Directors of Museums at home and abroad, who have so liberally opened to him their stores; and he expresses his thanks for the ready assistance, especially in matters geographical, which he has received from Mr Capenny, the general editor of the series.

The reasoned bibliography at the end of the volume will supply much of the information about authorities which generally appears in footnotes, while the larger entries in the index will assist readers by bringing co-related parts together into groups.

UNIVERSITY OF EDINBURGH,
October 1910.

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Arts and Crafts of our Teutonic Forefathers

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTORY

Limits in time and place of the field of study. Importance of historical and geographical considerations as underlying the artistic facts of the period. Some of the chief problems that offer themselves for treatment.

THE title of this volume covers a subject that is both large and complex. The arts and crafts of our Teutonic forefathers furnish the matter for one of the two great chapters in the general history of the arts in western Europe, that cover the time between the decline of classical art and the establishment in the eleventh century of the distinctive medieval style known as Romanesque. The other great chapter is occupied with the story of the survival of later classical forms of art mainly under the influence of

the Church, and with the infiltration into the West of the artistic forms of the Christianized East, at first directly from Egypt and Syria, and at a later time through the agency of Byzantium.

These two contemporary phases of æsthetic activity differ markedly in that the art of the Mediterranean regions is especially strong on the representative side, while that of the northern peoples is in character essentially decorative. The two traditions however interpenetrate at many points, and Roman or Mediterranean and Teutonic or northern art, if they must be regarded as independent, have yet at the same time close relations alike in matters of form and of technique.

It is with the Teutonic or northern art, represented in these islands and over the greater part of the western world, that these chapters are concerned, and we may ask at the outset, What is the general character of this art and of the objects that illustrate it?

Only to a very small extent is this art of a monumental character, and only very few of the objects that illustrate it are independent works like the statues and pictures familiar to us in modern times. In the main these objects are works of decorative or industrial art, applied largely to purposes of personal use and adornment. They are arms, or parts of dress,

or ornaments, or belong to the apparatus of useful or pleasing things with which men have in all ages equipped their daily life. The archæologist is familiar with this class of objects under the heading of "Tomb Furniture"—a category under which can be ranged the larger number of the small ancient works of art of all periods that fill cases in our museums. For the most part the works of art which will come before us have actually been discovered in graves, where they had been placed, according to the almost universal custom of non-Christian races, as part of the possessions of the deceased. A number of them however, and these among the rarest and most costly, were originally concealed as treasure deposits by those who expected one day to recover them, and these have come to light accidentally in unexpected places. Other groups of portable objects have apparently been committed to the earth as votive offerings in the form of weapons and other goods taken from defeated foemen; while a few seem to have been casually lost, and now make their reappearance singly in sporadic fashion. Lastly, one or two portable objects representing this phase of art have never been buried nor concealed, but, like the Kremsmünster chalice presently to be noticed, have always been in evidence and in honour.

INTRODUCTORY

The period to which these objects belong is that of the Teutonic migrations, for the denizens of the tombs that have yielded them up, the depositories of the treasure hoards or votive offerings, the owners of the accidentally dropped objects, belonged to the Germanic tribes that in the early centuries of the Christian era made themselves masters of the western provinces of the Roman Empire.

The Teutons came into view in this period not in mere armies, light-handed, and equipped only for war, but as communities, accompanied sometimes by long trains of waggons laden with the women and children and the household impedimenta of innumerable families. It is a question not of invasions, but of the movements of whole races, and for this reason the epoch when these shiftings of population were in progress is called the period of the Teutonic Migrations.

The regions affected by these movements include the whole of central, southern and western Europe, as far north as the southern portions of the Scandinavian peninsula, and as far east as a line drawn from Riga to the Caucasus, while North Africa, the seat of the Vandal kingdom, must also be included. The chronological limits of the migrations have been variously fixed. When these are drawn at their nar-

rowest they include the period between about 370 A.D. and the end of the eighth century, the time of Charles the Great. The first date is that at which the Huns hurled themselves on the Teutonic races dwelling to the north of the Black Sea with a shock that was transmitted from people to people through the whole of the western Empire; while the latter date is that at which the rule of Charles the Great had re-established in the dismembered provinces of that Empire something that resembled the old Roman unity and order. The limits of time may however be set far more widely apart. The pressure of the Huns upon the Goths in the fourth century impelled the latter westwards, and led directly or indirectly to the defeat of the Roman legions at Hadrianople and to the capture of Rome by Alaric. It was thus the opening scene of the great tragic drama of the fall of the Roman Empire of the west. What was however the cause of the presence in Southern Russia at that time of Teutonic peoples? The cause is to be found in earlier movements of these peoples from the north of Europe towards the south and east, which began before the Christian era. At the same early date there had been movements from the north towards the south and west, and the then unshaken and advancing Roman power re-

ceived a premonitory shock from the wandering Cimbri and Teutones. All this earlier Teutonic history comes strictly within the limits of our epoch, but we need not take special account of it. We shall however need to carry our minds back at least as far as the time when, in the second century of our era, important shiftings of population were in progress beyond the Danube, which were the cause of the Marcomannic war of defence carried on in that region by Marcus Aurelius about A.D. 170.

With regard also to the lower limit of time, the ordered empire administered by Charles from Aachen, which on Christmas Day in the year 800 became technically Roman, did not represent the final cessation of the long-continued Germanic movements. Soon afterwards these were renewed with fresh vigour in the form of the Viking inroads, and the last waves of these did not cease to beat upon the shores of England and of Magna Græcia till the eleventh century was far advanced. In relation especially to our own country and to Scandinavia, the post-Carolingian or Viking period of the Teutonic migrations possesses an artistic importance of which due account must be taken. The whole period therefore which should be covered in our survey extends to some twelve hundred years, though

it is the central portion of the period only, from Marcus Aurelius to Charles the Great, that is of special importance.

Some explanation may perhaps be needed of the place occupied in the scheme of this volume by historical considerations. The fact is that the connection of the art of the period with its history is particularly close, and the answer to many of the æsthetical questions which must come before us in our survey depends largely on our reading of the historical phenomena which the epoch presents. And if archæology rests on history, there is a corresponding relation which must not be ignored between history and archæology. Professed historians, though naturally unwilling to extend the field of their studies, are coming to recognize the results of modern antiquarian research as data that cannot be neglected; just as the classical philologist, though he has sometimes pleaded to be let alone in his comfortable study-chair among his books, has now to watch the spade strokes of the explorer, and reckon with the new facts that are being revealed from beneath the soil of classical sites. What a different thing Mr Casaubon's "Second Excursus upon Crete" would now become, if re-edited by Dr Arthur Evans, from what it was when first penned by the orthodox book-

worm who married the heroine of *Middlemarch*! On this side of the matter it is of course necessary to proceed with a caution that is sometimes forgotten by the ardent archæologist. Dr Sophus Müller has issued a timely warning against rearing historical superstructures upon a very slight basis of archæological fact, but the service that the antiquary, with his scientific modern methods, can now render to the historian is a very real one; and for an illustration we have only to note the effective historical use that is being made of archæology in the *Victoria History of the Counties of England*—a monumental undertaking which one would like to see paralleled in the other British areas.

This interdependence of history and archæology concerns us most on the side on which it was first approached. How the history of our period underlies its archæology may be seen in one or two illustrative cases.

It is an archæological fact that the works of art with which we are concerned have survived in view or have come to light in innumerable localities over all the region the limits of which have been already indicated, and that they present on the whole throughout all that vast region an unmistakeable family likeness. That is to say, we can in general recog-

nize them at a glance and distinguish them from objects of the same kind that are of Celtic or of Roman origin, or that represent the art of western Europe in its later or Romanesque phase. There are at the same time characteristic differences among the various groups into which the objects can be divided, and these groups can often be seen to possess a local character, in that they are found in certain districts but not in others. Now the general likeness can be explained on the following considerations. The innumerable localities mentioned above are all in regions where the presence of Teutonic peoples can be historically attested, and the general archæological character of the objects from the point of view of the comparative method suits the chronology of the German migrations and settlements. Numerous datable coins, generally of the early Byzantine Emperors, have been found with the objects. On a sufficient number of characteristic pieces there have been deciphered inscriptions in the Runic character, a method of writing peculiar to the Teutonic peoples, and these, together with similar inscriptions in Latin, contain Teutonic proper names and words in the Teutonic tongue. The character of many of the objects corresponds with notices in the literature of the period applying

to the Germanic invaders of the Empire. On these and other grounds we may treat these general resemblances as constituting for the objects a common Germanic character.

If this be accepted, the further question arises: Do the local and other differences among the various groups of objects correspond to differences among the divers peoples into which the Germanic race is divided? We know from literary records that these peoples varied to a greater or less extent in their character, traditions and tastes, and may assume that this would be the case also with their methods of craftsmanship, so that objects made and worn by the Goths might differ from those made and worn by the Franks or the Lombards. Hence when local differences are observed in objects that are on the whole of the same character we have to ask ourselves, What peoples inhabited or passed through the regions in which the differences come into view? If objects of a certain class found in two or in three distinct localities agree in special characteristics, and we find that one particular people was connected with these self-same localities, there is at once a presumption that this particular people was responsible for the objects in question. By instituting processes of comparison resulting in hypotheses of this kind, and by carefully

testing the presumptions thus formed, it may be possible to assign many of the numerous sub-classes of these objects to the respective branches of the Teutonic race, but this can only be attempted on a basis of knowledge of the movements, and places and periods of settlement, of the peoples in question. We possess in the reports of the exploration of cemeteries, when these have been properly conducted, accurate local knowledge about the *objects*, and have to confront this with information of a historical kind about the *peoples* who had associations with the localities, and presumably made and used the objects that come to light in the sepulchres.

A knowledge of the course and the chronology of the migrations is accordingly essential to a proper understanding of the discoveries, and we must regard these movements, not as mere historical and geographical facts of general interest, but as matters of fundamental importance for our study.

There are other and wider questions in the archæology of the period that can only be discussed on a basis of history and geography. One is suggested by the expression just used, "a common Germanic character," which we have seen good grounds for ascribing to the general mass of objects with which we shall have to deal. This is accepted

by most of those who have been working in this field within the modern archæological era. The older antiquaries, it is true, did not all adopt this view, for in the eighteenth century Bryan Faussett ascribed the contents of the richly furnished Saxon or rather Jutish tumuli at Kingston Down in Kent to the Romanized Britons. Douglas however, whose *Nenia Britannica* appeared in 1793, recognized these and similar finds as Teutonic, and this view, enforced by antiquaries such as Akerman and Roach Smith, has among ourselves ever since prevailed. In Germany the national uprising against Napoleon resulted in a tendency to claim all the antiquities of the Fatherland as in their origin Germanic, but both in Germany and in France a theory that everything must be regarded as Celtic for a long time stood in the way of the now prevailing view. Since the time of Lindenschmit in the former country and of the Abbé Cochet in the latter, the Germanic origin of the graves where these objects have been found, and with certain reservations of the objects themselves, has remained unquestioned. The word "Germanic," however, when applied to the works of art under review, is susceptible of different interpretations.

Everyone will agree now that it implies some-

thing distinctive in character, something that at any rate is not Celtic nor Etruscan nor Neo-Persian, nor in accordance with any other of the recognized styles prevailing at about that period of the world's history. Most would admit that this "Germanic" style suited the special taste in matters decorative which was indigenous in the Teutonic disposition, but a large number would hesitate to affirm that German initiative created the style, or that German hands executed the works in which that style found expression. Many of the first authorities, including Lindenschmit and Otto Tischler among the older, and Director von Falke among the more recent investigators, have held that the work is really provincial-Roman and not in its essence Teutonic, or that at any rate Rome counts for far more in it than the North.

There are other equally competent observers who, like Almgren in his classic work on the northern fibulæ, prefer to believe that in most cases both style and technique, though influenced from the side of Rome, are really Germanic, and that as a general rule the various objects were made *in* the localities where they have been found and *by* the countrymen of the original Teutonic possessors, if not by these possessors themselves.

INTRODUCTORY

It may be said at the outset that the view just indicated is the one which the writer's study of the subject has commended to his mind. In the main the style of the objects is Teutonic and not classical, and in the vast majority of cases the objects found in the several localities are of local fabrication. Proofs of these statements will be given as the book advances. It is worthy of notice that quite recently, in 1909, there appeared in Germany a work by Dr Albrecht Haupt, entitled *The Oldest Art, especially the Architecture, of the Germans*, in which the claim to a national origin for the art with which we are here concerned is urged in the most insistent fashion.

The first question therefore, which has to be answered, is whether the work is in its essence Roman or Germanic, and, if the latter be held established, the next is the distribution of the objects, with their varying characteristics, among the different Teutonic peoples. To fix the provenance of these objects is in many cases to solve the problem of their date, and a few dates thus established may be of essential value in their bearing on the general chronology of the artistic forms of the period.

CHAPTER II

THE ARTISTIC OUTPUT OF THE PERIOD

Preliminary survey of artistic material. Architectural and sculptured monuments. Paintings, illuminated manuscripts, mosaics. The Church and Teutonic art. The Carolingian Renaissance.

Review of some of the characteristic products of Teutonic art and ornamentation, with indications of date and provenance.

IT is proposed to occupy the present chapter with a preliminary survey of the artistic material with which the student of the crafts of our Teutonic forefathers is brought into contact. Illustrations, accompanied by a few words of description, of some typical objects of the different classes represented in the period will give a general idea of the character of this material, that may form the basis of subsequent analysis and discussion. What follows is in some measure an enlargement of the preliminary remarks as to the character of Teutonic art which found their place at the opening of the first chapter.

An indication was there given of these different

classes of objects and of the ways in which they have come down to us. There are architectural and sculptured monuments in some numbers that date from the period. The Ostrogoths, the Visigoths, the Merovingian Franks, the Anglo-Saxons, the Lombards, have all left permanent memorials in stone in those parts of the Roman Empire which, for a time or lastingly, they made their own. By far the most important of these is the world-famous tomb of the Ostrogoth Theodoric at Ravenna, a structure which is Roman in form but which shows in detail some curiously non-classical motives, in which some have detected the workings of Teutonic phantasy. In Spain there exist some half-dozen churches claimed to be of the Visigothic era, which have some interesting characteristics. The early Lombard buildings, such as that at Cividale in the north-eastern corner of the Italian kingdom, are in architectural character more Roman than the last, but exhibit carved detail of the character of the migration period. In our own country and in northern France there are pre-Carolingian stone churches, while Great Britain can boast the possession of a really unique treasure in the multitude of carved crosses and other sculptured stones of the Anglo-Saxon period to which no other part of

Europe can present a parallel. On the other hand ornamented sarcophagi, either carved in stone or else moulded in plaster, are a speciality of Merovingian Gaul, and the Rhineland has produced a few Teutonic tombstones, together with many Roman ones which have the interest for our purpose that they sometimes contain contemporary representations of militant or captive Germans.

With regard to monuments of the art of painting, what survives is chiefly of an ecclesiastical character. Wall paintings of a secular kind, that to judge from literary notices would have possessed for us great historical interest, once existed though they have now perished. Thus we learn that at Monza in North Italy, about the year 600 A.D., Queen Theudelinda built a palace for herself, in which she caused some representations to be made of the deeds of the Lombards. The chief extant monuments of painting however, that exhibit Teutonic character, are certain illuminated manuscripts which are of course of ecclesiastical origin, and with these may be mentioned one grand cycle of monumental pictures in mosaic that remains from Ostrogothic times in S. Apollinare Nuovo at Ravenna. The fact, that in these ecclesiastical works there is a Teutonic element, brings up the question of the relation of the

Church to Germanic art, on which a word may fittingly be said.

The Church, in her different sections, and in both antique and modern days, has sometimes been reproached for putting under taboo picturesque old customs, folk-lore, popular songs, vernacular speech, and generally all relics of the time when she herself was not. Certainly we know that the typical Teuton, Charles the Great, wrote down and committed to memory the ancient songs of his heroic forefathers, while his son Louis, who was half a monk, "would not hear nor read nor remember" the "gentile ditties" that he had been taught when a boy. These accordingly died out of remembrance, just as the Book of Jasher perished under the post-exilic ecclesiocracy at Jerusalem. The Church has in general however rendered such magnificent service to the arts that it is worth while inquiring whether in this particular age the reproach referred to was justified.

The influence of the Church, especially the Roman or Catholic section of it as opposed to the Arian, was naturally exercised in favour of the classical forms of art which had one of their homes in Italy, the stronghold of Roman Christianity. It has been noticed of Early Christian art in Gaul that it quite ignored the traditions of the beautiful Late-Celtic

PLATE I

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1. BURGUNDIAN BUCKLES.

2. PART OF RUTHWELL CROSS.

3. RELIQUARY AT ST. MAURICE, SWITZERLAND.

4. GOLD BASKET FROM PETROSSA.

decorative art, and used for its sarcophagi and other objects only a debased form of the late classical figure motives and foliage. In the Teutonic period vernacular art had more resisting power. It is true that we meet occasionally with pieces of traditional Early Christian art of a classical kind rendered in a fairly orthodox fashion by the Germanic craftsman, but in the vast majority of instances the classical motive has been Teutonized almost out of recognition. For example, the Burgundians had a passion for wearing buckles on which was represented the traditional group so common on Early Christian sarcophagi, of Daniel between the two lions. We sometimes find this treated in quite orthodox guise, but the examples are far more numerous in which the figures are transformed into the most curious decorative shapes, in which barbaric fancy has had the freest play. Taking the two examples shown in fig. 1, in the lower the subject is quite recognizable, even without the legible inscription, with the names Daniel and Abbacuc, but the upper one is quite barbaric. There is another very striking instance in an elaborate golden clasp at Buda-Pest, that brings the Christian sign of the cross to view in every part, but combines this with the crudest attempts at figure work in the form of human heads.

The truth is that, just as the Church, as we shall see, only succeeded very gradually in changing the use of the heathen cemeteries and of tomb furniture, so she exercised among the Germans far less influence than would have been expected in favour of the classical motives in art as against the native. The Tassilo Cup is almost entirely Germanic in its enrichment, and the figure work is hopelessly feeble. The most striking instance of what is here said is to be found in our own country, in the famous illuminated manuscript known as the "Gospels of Lindisfarne." This we know to have been executed at the beginning of the eighth century at Lindisfarne itself, at a time when the establishment had been entirely Romanized, yet in the ornamentation of this wonderful piece the native elements, whether Celtic or Teutonic, are developed with the fullest freedom and abundance, and there is very little that reminds us of the synod of Whitby or of Wilfrid's Romanizing endeavours. On our carved crosses and slabs native enrichment is everywhere in evidence; but it is combined on many of our finest examples with some remarkably good figure work, and with the vine ornament, generally enhanced by the addition of birds. The portion of the Ruthwell Cross shown in fig. 2 illustrates both of these. The

tendency of the moment, especially in the school of Strzygowski, is to regard these motives as importations rather from the East than from Italy, coming perhaps in the form of Syrian or Alexandrian carved ivories. The figures and motives present at any rate very interesting problems for the investigator.

The further development of this Teutonic art was, in France and Central Europe generally, checked by the so-called Carolingian Renaissance. This classical revival however was not an ecclesiastical movement so much as one in the domains of culture and of politics, and the Church, though lending it all her aid, was not directly responsible for it. After this time, though elements of the native traditions survived in Carolingian and Ottonian art, the forms used were mostly of classical origin, and it was only among the pagan Scandinavians of the Viking period that the Teutonic fashions preserved their true vitality.

Returning from this brief digression on the influence of the Church upon Teutonic art, we will take up the main theme of this chapter, and pass in review some of the characteristic products in which this art was displayed.

Among these typical objects the first place may be taken by one or two ecclesiastical works of art

made for and gifted to religious bodies, that have been in the possession of the objects ever since. In some ways the most interesting of these pieces is the famous Tassilo Cup already mentioned (fig. 1, frontispiece). This is one of a very few pre-Romanesque chalices that has come down to us, and bears on its foot an inscription that denotes it to be the possession or the gift of Duke Tassilo of Bavaria, who played his part in the history of the latter part of the eighth century. He presented the cup to the monastery of his own foundation at Kremsmünster in Upper Austria. There it has remained to this day, in the monastic buildings which are now turned to useful educational and scientific purposes, and both on historical and on artistic grounds it is one of the most attractive works of the kind in Europe.

An earlier piece of ecclesiastical metal work of Germanic origin is preserved at Monza, where in the treasury of the church are to be seen the two jewelled book-covers on which is an inscription stating that they were part of an offering of the Lombard queen Theudelinda to the basilica that she founded at that place in the year 595.

Another object that has always been in evidence is the reliquary at St. Maurice in the Valais, in Switzerland (fig. 3). It is decorated in the Germanic

fashion, and has on its back an inscription in which several Teutonic-sounding names occur, including those of the two craftsmen, Undiho and Ello, who made it.

The Tassilo Cup, which is of copper, heavily gilded, and adorned with oval plates of silver on which in niello work are the busts of saints, is for the present purpose chiefly noteworthy for the ornamentation, incised by the chisel, in a convoluted pattern representing highly conventionalized animal forms. It is a somewhat late example of the characteristic German zoomorphic enrichment. The other two pieces are examples of the process of inlaying coloured stones or other objects in gold, which is a speciality of the Teutonic craftsmanship of the period.

Under the next heading, that of treasures buried for safety, may be adduced in the first place a collection of objects larger and more splendid than any which the period has produced. The reference is to the famous Treasure of Petrossa, now preserved in the Museum of the University at Bucharest. This was not found in a tomb, but is a treasure deposit which came to light in 1837, quite accidentally, near a village in Rumania on the eastern slope of the Transylvanian Alps. More than a dozen

pieces, all of gold and for the most part encrusted with semi-precious stones, survive from the treasure, though some pieces that originally belonged to it have disappeared. It consists in golden dishes and ewers, fibulæ and other objects of personal adornment, such as the fibula shown in fig. II, frontispiece, and some wonderful baskets of open work in gold, the spaces being filled in with coloured stones or pastes (fig. 4). It was discovered by accident by some peasants who thought the metal was copper, and was purchased from them for a trifling sum by a Greek workman who only just knew enough to be aware that the objects were probably of gold. He immediately smashed up or cut in pieces the larger objects for convenience of transport, and in so doing scattered in all directions the garnets, turquoises, and other stones, that were thickly set in the gold. These coloured baubles were picked up by the village children, and the fact that they had handfuls of these toys to play with came to the ears of a representative of the authorities, and led to the recovery, though in a sadly mutilated condition, of the majority of the objects forming the original collection. The crushed pieces were restored as far as possible to their original shape and the fragments put together, but fortune

had still in store further evils, for the treasure was twice stolen from the places where it was exhibited and the process of crushing-up and cutting in pieces was repeated with disastrous effect. When perfect it must have been a glorious treasure, by far the finest collection of the kind that had survived to modern times, and even in its present condition it offers to us objects of surpassing interest.

The date and original ownership of the Treasure of Petrossa cannot be fixed with absolute certainty, but it is reasonably safe to ascribe it to the third or fourth century A.D. and to connect it with the Visigothic people. On one of the objects, a golden circlet for the neck (see *postea*, p. 76), occurs a dedicatory inscription in Runic characters, in a Germanic tongue, and probably of pagan import. The reading of the inscription is not quite certain but the name of the Goths is to be found in it, and the suggestion of Gothic ownership, though not necessarily of Gothic origin, is borne out by the place of discovery, and by the apparent date of the pieces as judged on general antiquarian grounds.

Another great treasure of golden vessels, comparable with that of Petrossa, was found on the other side of the Transylvanian Alps in Hungary, and may here be mentioned, though there is nothing

available but conjecture for fixing its date. The reference is to the gold find at Nagy Szent Miklos, near the river Maros in eastern Hungary, where in 1799 twenty-three vessels of gold were accidentally discovered. They are now in almost perfect preservation in the Kunst-Historisches Museum at Vienna, and show the same mixture of late-classical, oriental, and barbarian elements to be observed in the treasure of Petrossa, but in this case there are some pieces with distinct Christian indications. There are half-a-dozen jugs, seven or eight bowls and some shallower vessels, all of beaten gold with enrichments in repoussé work and in some cases in enamel (fig. III, frontispiece). Puzzling inscriptions appear on some. The treasure is now dated about the eighth century, and hence much later than the treasure from Petrossa. Its affinities in point of art are undoubtedly Sasanian, but the inscriptions are partly in barbarous Greek and partly quite enigmatical, and date and place of origin are alike uncertain.

The Museum at Vienna holds another treasure of golden objects, of which the date, if not the provenance, is fairly well established. It was found at a place called Szilagy Somlyo near Grosswardein in Hungary, in the year 1797, and consists for the

most part in a class of objects of great significance for the study of the subject before us. These objects are Roman medallions inscribed and therefore datable. Roman, Byzantine, and other coins are of frequent occurrence in Teutonic graves and treasure deposits, and a word may be said here as to their chronological significance. It is obvious that when the coin of a certain potentate forms an integral part of a group of objects recovered from the earth the deposit cannot have been made earlier than the accession of that ruler, but on the other hand the coin is of little value intrinsically as a mark of date in the other direction. It may have been in existence for centuries before it was buried with the rest of the objects in the tomb or cache. Under certain conditions however it may acquire value of this kind. For example, if a considerable number of coins of successive issues belonging to a particular period are found together, and no examples of a later date, there is a presumption that the deposit approximates to the time of the latest of these issues. If the coins have the appearance of freshness, this presumption is strengthened. Now in the case of the Szilagy Somlyo deposit the pieces are not coins in the strict sense but medallions in gold of a large size bearing the portraits of Roman Emperors of the fourth cen-

tury, from Maximian who died in 304 A.D. to Gratian who assumed the purple in 367. The whole number of medallions is twenty-four and some are as much as three and three-quarters inches in diameter. They are undoubtedly gifts presented by the Emperors to their Germanic neighbours across the Danube, and it is equally certain that they have been mounted by barbarian goldsmiths. This is proved by the fact that in some cases the barbarian goldsmith has in mounting the piece mutilated the representation of the head of the Emperor, in a way quite impossible in a Roman craftsman (fig. 5). The date of the deposit may fairly be fixed by these medallions at the latter part of the fourth century A.D., and as the deposit contained other objects of much artistic importance this indication of date is a matter of some moment.

A second find of buried treasure by an extraordinary coincidence came to light close to the same spot, about 100 years later, in 1889, and this consists for the most part in personal ornaments of a very sumptuous kind together with certain golden bowls. These objects probably date from about the same period. They are in the Museum at Buda-Pest. Fig. 6 shows a group of golden and silver gilt fibulæ.

GUARRAZAR CROWNS

The heading "votive deposits" comes next. Of votive objects belonging to the period, the finest are the votive crowns that were discovered at a place called Guarrazar near Toledo in Spain, in 1858, in the tomb of a priest. They had most probably been taken from a church in which they were hanging and hidden away on the occasion of the Arab invasion in 711 A.D. There were about a dozen crowns in all and with them various crosses. All are of gold and are set for the most part with large sapphires and pearls, and small garnets or discs of ruby glass, and have chains for suspension before the altar of a church, and pendent crosses below. Votive crowns of the kind were common objects in the greater churches, and an Arab historian of the twelfth century mentions that in his time there were to be seen in the cathedral of Toledo twenty-five golden crowns, each one offered up by one of the Gothic Kings of Spain. The crowns from Guarrazar were different from those here referred to, but two at any rate were royal offerings, for hanging from the bottom edge of the circlets are jewelled letters which spell the names of two Visigothic kings of the seventh century—Svinthila (621–631) and Recces-vinthus (649–672). The former is at Madrid, the latter with seven other crowns in the Musée Cluny

at Paris. Apart from their intrinsic splendour the crowns, as datable objects of Visigothic origin, are among the most important monuments of the period. The Musée Cluny set is shown in fig. 7.

Votive deposits of quite another kind, pagan and military rather than Christian and ecclesiastical, are the hoards of miscellaneous objects, largely of arms, that have come to light in some of the peat mosses of Funen in Denmark and Schleswig. They are of comparatively early date, the fourth or fifth century, and of great archæological value.

The most important heading of all is that of tomb furniture. Among objects found in interments only two that have special features of interest need here be noticed, as the whole subject of the furniture of the graves will be treated in connection with the Teutonic cemetery in general in a coming chapter.

The first is a group of objects that is datable with certainty, and as it belonged to a historical personage, it is a valuable document for our present study. The reference is to the objects discovered in the tomb of the Frankish chieftain Childeric, the father of Clovis, that was accidentally opened at Tournay in Belgium in the year 1653. The various objects that then came to light were shovelled out in very unscientific fashion and ultimately passed into the

PLATE II

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5. MEDALLION OF VALENS MOUNTED BY A BARBARIAN GOLDSMITH.

6. FIBULÆ, ETC., FROM SZILAGY SOMLYO, HUNGARY.

7. VISIGOTHIC VOTIVE CROWNS, MUSÉE CLUNY, PARIS.

8. PECTORAL CROSS OF ST. CUTHBERT, DURHAM.

possession of the French crown. Among them was a golden ring on which were engraved the words "Childerici Regis" surmounting a bust of a man with very flowing locks and holding a spear. Childeric, it was known from history, died in the year 481 A.D., so that the find was fully authenticated and dated. Most unfortunately the objects were stolen in the year 1831, and the thieves, in fear of capture, flung them or most of them into the Seine, whence the majority were afterwards recovered, though the ring and some other important pieces were never found. Of these however engravings exist. The chief objects that survive are the jewelled mountings of the royal sword and cutlass, and the former are shown in fig. IV, frontispiece.

Our own country has provided us with an interesting object that is connected with the name of a conspicuous Northumbrian Saint. This is the pectoral cross found in the coffin of St. Cuthbert at Durham, and preserved there in the Cathedral Library, fig. 8. It is of silver set with garnets. St. Cuthbert died in 687, and the cross shows signs that it had been a good deal worn, so it may date about the middle of the seventh century.

CHAPTER III

ROMAN AND TEUTON

Intercourse of Roman and barbarian brought about by the military arrangements of the Empire. Original seats of the Germans. Aspect in which they presented themselves to the Romans. Bodily presence and dress. Cultivation of the horse. Divisions and grouping of the Teutonic peoples, as bearing on their artistic history.

IT is obvious that the question mooted in the first chapter—How far are we justified in regarding the artistic work with which we have to deal as essentially Teutonic in style and handiwork?—can only be satisfactorily discussed on the basis of the historical relations between the Romans or the Romanized provinicials and their Teutonic neighbours, both before and after the actual invasions of the Empire. The story of these relations is an interesting one, and the result on the mind of one who reads it is the impression that the intercourse, especially in connection with the army, was tolerably close, and that the resultant influence was exercised by the Teuton

upon the Roman as well as by the Roman upon the Teuton. The latter influence, that of Roman upon Teuton, was necessarily much the greater, but the counter-influence is not to be neglected, as it may explain phenomena not as yet rightly understood. The late Alois Riegl of Vienna, the most doughty champion in our own day of the "all Roman" theory, notices the supposed Teutonic character of the ornament on certain buckles of military belts, such as that shown in fig. 9, and dwells on the fact that the pieces he figures have all been found in the tombs of Roman soldiers. This may be true, and yet not disprove the Teutonic colour of the ornament, for, as Riegl admits, these very soldiers might themselves have been Germans, while they were certainly in touch with the very large Germanic element present in the armies of the later Roman Empire. The interpenetration in the personnel and organization of the army of Roman and Germanic elements is a cardinal fact both of the history and the archæology of the times, and much of the art of the period can only be interpreted when this fact is fully recognized. It will be advisable therefore to spend a few moments in considering the facilities for intercourse between Roman and barbarian which were afforded by the military system of the Empire.

ROMAN AND TEUTON

The Roman spirit diffused itself in wondrous fashion over the subject provinces of the West, to whose immense extent the area of the city Rome was as a drop in the ocean, and provincials were often transformed with surprising quickness to Romans more Roman than the dwellers by the Tiber. Seneca, to whom we owe the aphorism "Wherever the Roman conquers he inhabits," was a native of Spain. The Emperor Trajan was a Spaniard, and so too at a later time was Theodosius the Great. In literature, Claudian and Sidonius Apollinaris were both provincials, but in the form and matter of their writings they were intensely Roman. Roman influence penetrated in peaceful fashion far beyond the limits of the nominal Empire. During the whole of the early imperial period the "mercatores," the traders, whose knowledge of barbarian lands was so useful to Julius Cæsar, were busy carrying Roman products towards the north. In Denmark alone about a hundred Roman bronze vessels have been found that were imported under these conditions, while at the same time Rome was in return drawing to herself not so much the products as the men of this same Germanic region. She drew them to service in her armies, and when active service was over she settled them as military colonists along her

frontiers. The army was an institution, Roman indeed in spirit, but composed of elements drawn from a vastly wider area than the ancient Latium, or even Italy. Roman citizenship carried with it the privilege of serving in the legion, but provincial levies from populations not yet officially Romanized were joined to the main army as "auxilia." The Germans were naturally warlike—"Germani gens læta bello," "viri ad arma nati," Tacitus calls them—and from the time of Cæsar's Gallic campaigns onwards they sought or accepted service in the only regular army in their part of the world. We find bodies of German irregulars, chiefly cavalry, assisting Cæsar in Gaul, and taking part as soldiers of fortune on both sides in the civil wars that preceded the establishment in power of Augustus. Under Augustus the service of the Germans was recognized as an integral part of the military system of the Empire. Regular contingents from tribes under Roman authority now serve for special campaigns under their own native chieftains. Arminius, the future destroyer of the legions of Varus, brought a contingent of Cherusci to the army of Tiberius. Later on these "auxilia" were organized on a more permanent footing. The tombstone of a German cavalry soldier of the race of the Ubii

preserved at Chalon-sur-Saône, gives us a portrait of one from about the second century.

At first these levies were locally enrolled, and served, commonly under native leaders, in their

own districts; but after the rebellion of Civilis in the year 70 A.D., it was found more politic to employ them for service in districts far from their own territorial centres. It was in this way that German auxiliaries were specially told off for service in Bri-

tain, and the inscriptions from the Roman wall and other parts make frequent mention of the "Alæ" or "Cohortes" of the Batavians, the Tungrians, or the Frisians. The fact that some of the future Teutonic conquerors of Britain were to come from these same regions of lower Germany is not without significance. In the days of Agricola, we learn from Tacitus that the auxiliary troops in Britain—not the legionaries—were for the most part German.

With Marcus Aurelius and his wars with the Marcomanni upon the Danube begins an era when German volunteers from among the non-Romanized tribes came to be employed on a far larger scale than was the case previously. Marcus, it was said, "bought German aid against Germans," and to those who had given good service lands were afterwards assigned within the frontiers of the empire. His successor Commodus had some 25,000 Quadi and Marcomanni in his pay. In the civil wars waged about the succession to the Empire in the stormy times of the latter part of the third century free Germans were employed in enormous numbers by the contending claimants. At a later date, in the fourth century, archæology throws a curious light on a statement made by the historian Zosimus that the usurper Magnentius hired a contingent of Saxons for his

war against Constantius. At Lengerich near Hanover, in what was then Saxon territory, there was found in 1847 a considerable hoard of newly minted coins of this very Magnentius, and there is little doubt that this represented the actual pay received by some Saxon chief for his military aid. With the coins were some beautiful gold objects of Roman workmanship that had no doubt been sent up at the same time as an additional gift.

It is said that Claudius Gothicus, in the last half of the third century, was the first to give these "free Germans" a fixed position, incorporating them on a large scale in the permanent military establishment.

After the time of Constantine the interpenetration in the military sphere of the Germans and the Romans was carried much further, and the importance of the barbaric element was largely increased by the fact that the higher commands came more and more to be filled by officers not of Roman birth. Before Constantine, German officers from beyond the Rhine would only have been in command in the auxiliary forces. By the time of Julian, a generation later, Dr. Bang, the most recent writer on the subject, believes that more than half the higher commands in the army were held by Germans. Men of German, or partly German, birth came to con-

trol Roman armies, or even to wield all the forces of the Empire. Magnentius and Merobaudes were Franks; Modar, a Goth; Stilicho himself, the bulwark of the Empire, was of Vandal, Ricimer of Suevic origin; and these men led hosts of warriors of Teutonic blood against Teutonic invaders of the provinces.

It is obvious that this large infusion of Germanic elements into the Roman military system must have carried with it consequences of a social kind that had their influences in the domain of art. Roman arms and methods of fighting were greatly modified in the later imperial period through the presence in the army of large contingents of warlike foreigners. Tricks of dress and fashions in ornament are easily caught up from strangers whose conspicuous prowess in war has given them distinction, and Roman dandies are said to have dyed their hair to imitate the flaxen tresses of the Goths; the Emperor Gratian copied the barbarous magnificence of the dress of the Alani who formed his body-guard; and we find Claudius Gothicus himself writing to ask for some Sarmatian bows and two Sarmatian cloaks fastened with fibulæ.

What now was the outward aspect in which the northern babarians presented themselves before the

Roman provincials? We have just seen that they did not burst upon the astonished southerner as a sudden apparition, as the Huns burst upon the Roman world in the fourth century, but had long been known as neighbours in friendly or hostile relations, through which had come about that interpenetration of Roman and Teutonic elements which is a cardinal fact of the times. These elements however, say in the fifth century, still remained distinct, and what was characteristically Teutonic still struck the provincial as something strange. It is accordingly proposed here to sketch in a few sentences some of the more general outward features in person, habits, and dress, of the Germanic invaders of the Empire.

Tacitus believed that the Germans were autochthonous, chiefly it seems for the reason that their country and climate were so detestable that no one would make his appearance in the region unless he were born there. Modern ethnologists agree in the main that the Germans were indigenous in northern Europe, and some now hold that this too is the original seat of the Indo-European race in general. Popular tradition, it is true, based on an *obiter dictum* in the Old Testament, cradles the race in some undefined region called Central Asia. There

is no real evidence for this; and though the soil of Scandinavia may be somewhat dry for a nursing mother of peoples, yet it must be a garden compared with the Hinterland of Thibet. Leaving however this larger question open, we may accept the view in which most German and Scandinavian archæologists concur, that the district between the lower courses of the Elbe and the Oder or the Vistula, together with Schleswig-Holstein, was the first home of the Germans, and there are good grounds for including also southern Scandinavia. It has at any rate been demonstrated by the learned authors of *Anthropologia Suecica* that the physical characteristics ascribed to the Germans by classical writers are preserved to this day almost unchanged in southern Sweden, so that in the stately form of Professor Oscar Montelius, and the blonde hair and grey eyes of Christina Nilsson, we can recognize the genuine type which Tacitus contrasted with the small alert bodies and olive complexion of his Italian countrymen. It is significant too that, when the period of the migrations began, early historians assign Scandinavia as the starting-point of some of the most important movements.

The large frames of the northern barbarians impressed the smaller men of the south. The first

Germans mentioned by name in history, the Bastarnæ who took part in the war of the Romans against the Macedonians about 180 B.C., are described as of huge stature. Cæsar knows the Germans as of great bodily bulk, and Pomponius Mela, Tacitus, Ammianus Marcellinus and others use corresponding expressions. The passage chiefly quoted in this connection is that in which in the fifth century Sidonius Apollinaris refers in whimsical fashion to the Burgundian giants with whom he was brought into contact at Lyons, and who, as Dr. Hodgkin remarks, "troubled him, not by their hostility, but by their too hearty and demonstrative friendship."

His lines run :

> "The sight of all these patrons tall
> (Each one is seven feet high),
> From my poor muse makes every thought
> Of six feet metres fly."

That he complains he "cannot write of seven feet men in six feet verses" is of course a bit of persiflage, not to be taken too seriously. The skeletons that have been measured in carefully excavated Teutonic graves are those of tall men and women, but not of giants.

There is a popular tendency to magnify proportions seen through the mist of ages, and when an

ancient grave is opened bystanders look each other up and down and murmur "there were giants on the earth in those days." Baer, in his *Gräber der Liven*, tells us that his workmen were indulging once in similar comparisons when he tested them by measuring the disinterred bones against those of their own limbs, and found that the living men had on the whole the advantage. Some averages however in the lengths of Teutonic skeletons, as recorded by careful observers, are sufficiently remarkable.

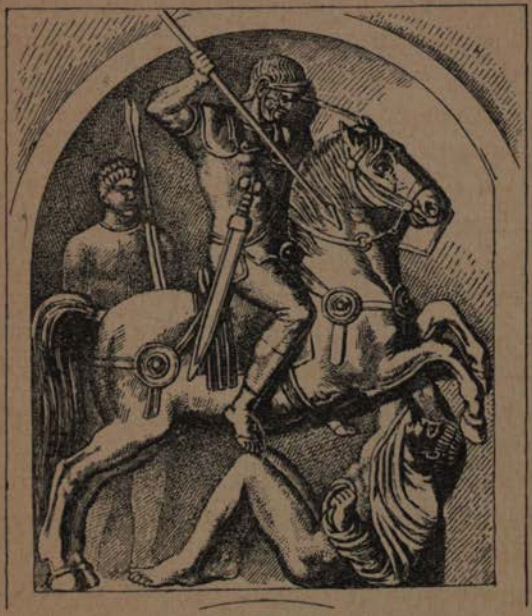
What has been said about the Burgundians must be taken in connection with the fact that in their graves, as in some of those of the Franks, are found iron buckles and buckle plates of quite abnormal size and weight, that betoken much bodily prowess in their wearers.

The fair skin, the blue eyes, the flowing yellow or ruddy hair of the denizens of the north are constant features in descriptions and notices from Tacitus downwards. For men as well as women to wear the hair long was a common tradition among the Teutonic tribes, and many Roman tombstones show it, though on the column of Marcus Aurelius it is generally represented as short, though wild and tumbled. The Suevi are said to have tied theirs up in a special kind of knot at the side of the head,

and this seems sometimes to be represented in the sculptures. The best example is the bronze figure of a German kneeling and apparently suing for quarter, in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, fig. 10. When the Alemanni charge the troops of Julian in the battle by Strassburg their flowing hair bristles with eagerness. At a later date extreme length of locks on the male head became a speciality of the royal race of the Salian Franks, the Merwings; but the free Teuton in general by no means abandoned his ample locks in favour of the short-clipped hair of the classical peoples, but wore it always fairly long, though cut all round level with the chin. These facts are of importance in connection with the use of the comb and of the shears which are constant items in Teutonic tomb-inventories.

Tacitus lays special stress on the simplicity and hardiness of the Germans in matters of dress and bodily habit. The footmen fight, he says, with no covering but a simple cloak. Cæsar reports at an earlier date that in the cold north they were only clad in skins which left a large part of the body bare. Tacitus notes the use of garments of hide, but says that nearer the Roman border the habit was going out. He assigns however to the well-to-do a rather more extensive outfit, and signalizes specially vest-

ments that cling to the figure and let the shape of the limbs appear. The reference no doubt is to the garment which we may call the "trews," the "brac-



cæ" of the Roman writers, the wearing of which was a characteristic mark of difference between Teuton and Roman. The simpler forms of dress indicated in these descriptions appear on sculptured monuments and in notices of the aspect of the Germans

when they presented themselves in person in classical lands. In the campaign between the armies of Vitellius and those of Otho and of Vespasian about Cremona in North Italy, in the year 70 A.D., the citizens marvel at the huge bodies of the German irregulars, in ancestral fashion semi-nude, or hung with the skins of beasts. Roman military tombstones exhibit prostrate Germans clad only in the cloak (see illustration from a tombstone at Mainz), or the trews, assigned to them by Tacitus; and a characteristic group on the column of Marcus Aurelius shows us a fight between a legionary and a German who is dressed in the trews and a loose cloak like the kneeling figure in fig. 10. At a much later date, in the sixth century, Agathias describes the foot soldiers of the Frankish-Alemannic host that Butilin led into Italy in 553 as dressed only in the trews, covering the loins and lower limbs.

The complete normal dress of the men of the upper ranks embraced of course more elements than these, and was by no means poor or scanty. We are indeed told that the Gothic youths who were distributed as hostages in Roman cities when the Visigoths were allowed to cross the Danube in 376 were admired as much for their rich attire as for their fair presence. The most satisfactory picture we obtain

of this dress is derived from the descriptions we possess of the attire of Charles the Great, who made it a matter of patriotic pride to adhere to the traditional Frankish costume. It may be noticed here indeed, that in dress and manners the Germans remained German throughout the whole of the period, and were only to a slight extent Romanized. Quite recently, in connection with the exploration of the Bavarian or Marcomannic cemetery of Reichenhall, near Salzburg, the author of the report calls attention to the survival in the Bavarian and Tyrolese uplands of several features of the dress of the earliest period. At Aachen or Ingelheim Charles clothed his magnificent frame in linen combinations over which came hose or trews and a woollen jerkin trimmed with silk. The shoes, which were buckled over the feet, had attached to them bands, three ells in length, that were wound round the leg, crossing at front and at back, as far as the knee, where they were, as we know from other evidence, fastened with small buckles. This fashion explains the numerous small buckles and strap ends that occur in Teutonic graves. To protect the upper part of the body from the cold Charles wore a garment that can be traced back as one of the most primitive articles of vesture. This was a sort of cape or scapular of fur that

shielded the front and back of the body as far as the hips or the knees. It is called in Cæsar and other writers "rheno," and one of these tells us that its name was derived from that of an animal—obviously the reindeer. Charles' "rheno" however was of otter or sable. Finally, a sea-green mantle, clasped on the shoulder, no doubt by a handsome fibula, completed the attire. A sword was always worn in the belt wherewith the tunic was girded. This belt, broad and strong and tightly fastened with a substantial and often richly adorned buckle, was characteristic of the Germanic attire, and constituted, as Riegl has pointed out, a marked difference between it and the classical dress which was more loosely girt. Hence the far greater importance of the buckle, as compared with the fibula, in Teutonic as compared with classical times.

The arms and method of fighting of the Germans will be better treated of in connection with the weapons that form so large a part of their tomb furniture. A word may be said here about their use of the horse.

The Germans had equestrian tastes, but in the migration period they depended much less on their mounts than did their medieval successors of the age of chivalry, or the nomad peoples of the steppes

PLATE III

9.

10

11

12

9. BUCKLE FOUND AT SMITHFIELD, BRITISH MUSEUM.

10. BRONZE FIGURE OF A GERMAN, BIBLIOTHÈQUE NATIONALE, PARIS.

11. GROUP FROM COLUMN OF MARCUS AURELIUS.

12. GERMANIC LADY IN WAGGON, FROM COLUMN OF MARCUS AURELIUS.

of southern Russia. It was said that the Teutonic descent of the Bastarnæ was shown by the fact that they relied on their feet, while the Sarmatians of the same great region spent their life in waggons and on horseback. Cæsar tells us that in cavalry fights the Germans often leapt from their horses and continued the combat on foot, and this was recognized as a German practice even at the time of the Crusades. When Julian met the Alemannic army for the great fight near Strassburg, the king and the chieftains of the barbarians sprang from their horses and ranged themselves with the rank-and-file on foot. This all has a bearing on the question of the burial of the horse of the warrior in the same grave as his master. Tacitus says that this sometimes took place, and the actual tombs of the migration period exhibit examples of the practice, though these are not so numerous as might have been the case had the knight and his steed been as inseparable as they became in the later ages of chivalry.

Of the appearance and attire of the German women we learn from Tacitus that they dressed like the men, but wore more often linen garments and decked these with purple. Arms and throat were uncovered. The long hair of which we have many

notices was evidently never so bound up with diadems or veils that its colour, its abundance, and even its ample length were concealed. Unmarried girls wore their tresses loose, with only a band round the forehead, but among the older women they were often bound up into a knot and held by one or two of the handsome hair pins found so often in the tombs.

In contradistinction to what Tacitus tells us of the bare arms of the German women we find them often represented on the Antonine column in long robes with sleeves to the wrist, and over-mantles that are sometimes drawn over the head like a veil. It is evident that the German women wore a sort of shift or under tunic more voluminous than that of the men, with a cloak over it, and that the former was fastened somewhat differently from that of the men is shown by the common occurrence in women's graves of fibulæ in pairs, while single fibulæ are found in corresponding positions in those of men. The two illustrations, figs. 11 and 12, are from the column of Marcus Aurelius, and exhibit, fig. 11, a group of Roman soldiers and Teutonic captives, including a bearded chieftain and two sons, while in fig. 12 we have the interesting representation of a Germanic lady with a child riding in an ox waggon,

no doubt of the pattern used so largely in the course of the migrations of the succeeding centuries.

As was the case with Greek ladies of the Homeric age, the mistresses of the household with their maidens about them would spin and dye and weave and embroider all the fine clothes required for themselves and for their men-folk.

Priscus, in his description of his visit to Attila's royal seat in Hungary, shows us the consort of the Hunnish monarch with her maids dyeing linen for the ornamentation of clothes, and at a later date we find Theodoric the Ostrogoth, on the eve of his decisive battle against Odoacer for the lordship of Italy, giving charge to his mother and sister to bring out for him the richly adorned robes they had been preparing, that he might shine in all his splendour in the forefront of his troops.

So far the appearance and dress of the Teutonic peoples have been dealt with as a whole, without any notice of special points of difference which indicate ethnographical divisions. A considerable part of the interest and the difficulty of the study before us consists in finding an answer to the constantly recurring question: To what people does this or that cemetery or this or that set of objects or single object belong? To approach such ques-

tions from the proper standpoint, it is advisable to have some idea of the relationships and differences among the various branches of the Teutonic name. Now ancient writers, especially Pliny and Tacitus, have preserved for us certain names of groups, which must have had some real ethnographical meaning. It is true that the divisions thus indicated become confused when the actual migrations are in progress, yet one of the latest historians of the Germanic peoples, Dr. Ludwig Schmidt, believes that "we may learn from numerous examples out of the age of the migrations that the feeling of kinship, of close connection, retained its freshness and its strength among the single peoples even after many years of separation." It is obvious that traditional associations of this kind may have an interest for the antiquary in that they may explain similarities in taste and practice within the domain of art.

As regards these subdivisions of the Germanic race, it is convenient to make two main groups, the East Germans and the West Germans. The chief constituents of the former were the Vandals, whose name according to Pliny's information applied at one time to the whole East German group; the Burgundians; the Lombards;[1] and the Goths, in

[1] On the ethnology of the Lombards, as upon that of some others

their two great branches the Ostro- and the Visi-Goths. All these are important historical peoples, but with them are grouped other peoples who have not left such a mark on history, namely the Gepidæ, the Heruli, and other minor units, such as the Rugii, the Turcilingi, and the Sciri.

Pliny applies the collective term "Ingvæones" to the peoples of the Cimbric Chersonese and adjacent regions, including the older Cimbri and Teutones of the last age of the Roman Republic and the Chauci, and under this term may be included the subsequently individualized Frisians, Angles, Jutes, and Saxons, from whom proceeded the Teutonic inhabitants of the British Isles. These form one section of the West Germans.

Another group of West Germans, called the "Herminones," included the Cherusci, famous as the people of Arminius, whose destruction of the legions of Varus in the year 9 A.D. was of decisive import for the future relations of Roman and barbarian; the Suevi, whose name survives in the medieval and modern Suabia; the Quadi and the Marcomanni,

of the peoples mentioned below, there has been much controversy. The text follows the view of the writer quoted above. For divergent opinions and a discussion of the whole subject, see the chapter on "The Classification of the Ancient Germani" in Mr. Chadwick's *Origin of the English Nation*, Cambridge, 1907.

against whom Marcus Aurelius carried on his campaigns upon the Danube; and the Bavarians, who seem to have been a part of the Marcomanni, deriving their name from the fact that they once dwelt in Bohemia, so called from its earlier inhabitants the Celtic Boii. These, with the Hermunduri and Thuringi, form a group occupying seats and carrying out movements in the central districts of Germany. More intimate in their relations with the Romans were the Alemanni, who occupied the district between the upper waters of the Rhine and those of the Danube, where, as we shall see, the natural frontier of the Empire had its vulnerable point.

Lastly, under the general name "Istvæones," are grouped a number of tribes most of which are insignificant, but which include the most important people of all, the Franks. When the Franks first appear in history, in the third century A.D., in the days of Valerian and Gallienus, they were divided into two branches, the Salian and the Ripuarian Franks. The former occupied what is now Holland and Belgium, and may have derived their name from "Salland," once the name of a district to the east of the Zuyder Zee, or as others have suggested, from "Sal," "Salt," as living by the sea;

whereas the other branch, which was to produce in time the Carolingian house, certainly derived its appellation from the fact of its dwelling more inland, by the banks, "Ripæ," of the river Rhine.

This matter of the grouping of the peoples leads to the archæological question whether the objects made and used by the peoples of any one group have any special affinity. There is, as we have seen, a common Germanic character over the whole area. Is there a common character belonging to the East German or to the West German tomb furniture? The answer is in the negative. These old ethnographical groupings have little archæological significance, and the similarities and differences to be observed in the collections of tomb furniture in the domains of the various peoples seem to be due to local contiguity or separation, and to comparative facilities of intercourse, rather than to reasons of race. Thus the tomb furniture of the Jutes and of the Angles in our own country is quite different, though the peoples were near akin. There is a reason for this which we shall see later on.

Our historical information about these peoples in the pre-migration period is of course scanty, but it can to some extent be supplemented from the data furnished by the older heroic literature of the Teu-

tonic race. These poems, of which the most interesting to ourselves is the Anglo-Saxon *Beowulf*, received their literary form at a comparatively late date—*Beowulf* probably in the eighth, the *Nibelungenlied* in the eleventh century—and contain of course elements of varied date and character. There is in them an ingredient of primeval folk-lore, but there is also a distinct historical basis for many of their incidents and characters, so that it has been gravely argued that the Sigfried of the Nibelung lay is none other than the national hero Arminius. This historical thread that runs through the poems, when disentangled from the other strands with which it is twisted up, is sometimes of great value, and from *Beowulf* there is not a little to be learned about our Anglian forefathers when they still dwelt in Schleswig. Then, thirdly, there is the staging of the poems with all the descriptions of local incidents, and references to buildings, weapons, dress, and all the apparatus of daily life. Much of this belongs necessarily to the later periods of the evolution of the piece as a literary product, and the antiquary must needs be careful how he employs these notices as evidence for an earlier condition of things.

The actual movements of the various sections of the Teutonic people in the migration period will be

most conveniently treated from the geographical point of view. In the next chapter we will follow these movements on the map, and will take occasion from time to time to notice the non-Teutonic, as well as the ecclesiastical, influences brought to bear on the various tribes in the different regions where they made a prolonged or a temporary sojourn.

The question of the conversion of the branches of the Teutonic name to Christianity is also one not to be passed over. With the exception of the invaders of our own island all the Teutonic peoples were nominally Christian before they actually occupied the Roman provinces. The form of their Christianity was, as a rule, however, Arian, not Catholic, and this is a fact of importance in relation to their history. The one exception was the race of the Franks, for Clovis when he received baptism in 496 A.D. embraced the Catholic form of the religion, and this had a notable influence on the position of the people, for it enlisted on the side of the Franks all the vast influence of the Roman clergy.

CHAPTER IV

MIGRATIONS AND SETTLEMENTS OF OUR TEUTONIC FOREFATHERS

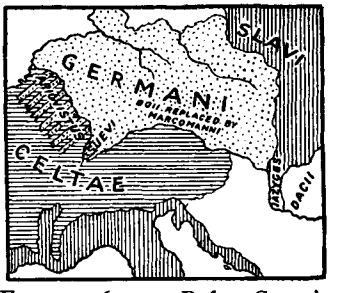
The relations of the Romans with their neighbours in the north before the Migration Period. Importance of the Marcomannic war of Marcus Aurelius. Early History, and relations with the Empire, of the Goths. Historical and artistic importance of the Goths. Their connection with Runic writing.

The Vandals and Suevi. The Alemanni and Bavarians. The Burgundians. The Lombards. The Franks. Absorption by the Franks of the other Teutonic kingdoms of Central Europe.

SPEAKING very broadly, in the last century before the Christian era, western Europe may be regarded as divided into three zones stretching along its length from east to west. The Mediterranean zone, including the southward-tending peninsulas of Greece, Italy, and Spain, was Roman or in process of becoming Romanized. North of the line of the Alps, in Gaul, Switzerland, and to an undefined extent farther to the east, the population was Celtic; while the third zone, beyond the well-marked

frontier drawn by the courses of the Rhine and the Danube, was, in the western part at any rate, inhabited by Teutonic peoples, the Slavs beginning already to press in from the east. See Map A.[1]

A



Europe *c.* 60 B.C. Before Cæsar's Gallic Wars.

With their Celtic neighbours the classical peoples became familiar enough, and the Gauls made themselves conspicuous in the histories both of Rome and Greece, but till the time of Julius Cæsar little was known about the Germans. One German tribe, the Bastarnæ, had migrated before 200 B.C. to the regions north of the Black Sea, where they threatened the Greek colonies, such as Olbia, and took part in the Macedonian and Mithridatic wars of the second and first centuries B.C. The incursion of the Cimbri and Teutones of the days of Marius repre-

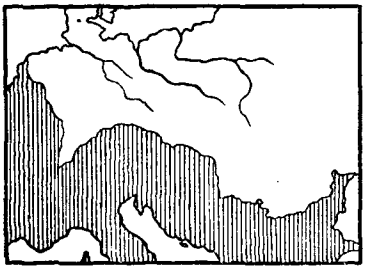
[1] The shading on the maps indicates in its different fashions the regions occupied by the various peoples, and is used consistently through the series. Thus shading in vertical lines indicates Roman territory; in horizontal lines Celtic, and afterwards Alemannic; in lines sloping from right to left and from above downwards, Frankish; with the reverse slope, Burgundian. Gothic territory is dotted. Curved lines are used for other Teutonic peoples.

sented apparently a sporadic movement of Germanic tribes from the far north, who followed into the southern peninsulas the earlier Gallic invaders. A more serious movement was in progress when about 71 B.C., the German chief, Ariovistus, representing one branch of the great confederation of the Suevi, was invited into Gaul by the Sequani to help them in a quarrel with another Gallic tribe the Hedui. About the same time there was a pressure felt from north to south on the upper course of the Danube; and what is now Bohemia, which has its name from its earlier inhabitants the Celtic Boii, saw these driven southward and replaced by the Teutonic Marcomanni, who in the time of Marcus Aurelius were to give trouble to Rome on this part of the frontier. In the case of Ariovistus and his followers, there came about what generally happens in similar circumstances, and the German guests proceeded to settle themselves comfortably down in occupation of considerable tracts of Gallic territory. Julius Cæsar, who was then administering the Roman province of Gallia Narbonensis, discerned the danger of a spread of this flood of Teutonism over Gaul. He succeeded in 58 B.C. in driving Ariovistus back over the Rhine, and in establishing this river as the recognized boundary between the Gallic

and the Germanic zones, though a not inconsiderable German population remained permanently located on the left, or Gallic, bank of the stream.

The problem of the future relations of Rome with the Germans was discussed and fought over during a good part of the reign of Augustus. In the earlier part of his reign it was evidently the intention of that ruler to extend the Roman domain up to the line of the Elbe, and in consequence of military measures on a large scale the coast line inhabited by Batavians and Frisians became Roman at least as far as the Ems. The nature of the German resistance had however decided that inner Germany was never to become part of the Roman Empire, and in the famous document in which Augustus left on record his mature convictions on public affairs, it was evidently indicated that the future boundary between the Roman and the German zone was to be the line of the Rhine and Danube. At this time what had previously been the Celtic zone had become Romanized, so that now there are two great belts shown on Map B, the Roman to the south, the Teutonic and Slavic to the north of this great natural boundary. The policy of Augustus was followed in the main by his successors, but Trajan by establishing the great province of Dacia to the north of the

lower Danube extended to somewhat dangerous limits the eastern part of the Empire. By the same time there had been brought about a further rectification of frontier in the western part that was of more obvious advantage to the Romans. The Rhine and the Danube in the uppermost parts of their courses flow, the one to the north-west the other to the north-east, and they leave between them a large triangular district that is partly occupied by the Black Forest. When the two streams approach points in their flow corresponding roughly to Mainz and to Regensburg, their courses are more or less in a straight line which cuts across Europe from the North Sea to the Euxine, and forms the natural boundary already spoken of. To complete this line the points on the rivers just named were joined by a line of forts and a palisade, using in part the ridge of the Taunus mountains and the course of the Main as its base. This is the so-called German "Limes" or "Pfahlgraben," one of the forts on which, the Saalburg, is familiar to



The Roman Empire—Frontier of Augustus.

visitors to Homburg. The Roman Empire at its fullest extent in the time of Hadrian, so far as the boundary against the Germans is concerned, is shown in Map C.

C

The Roman Empire, *c.* 125 A.D.
Temp. Hadrian.

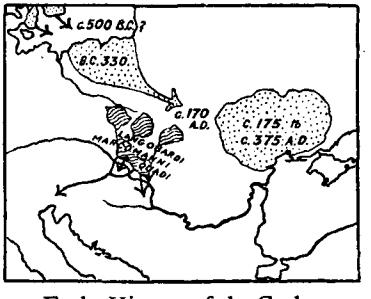
Not long after this, in the time of Marcus Aurelius, occurred the first serious conflict upon the boundary thus established between the Romans and their neighbours to the north, an event that may be said to usher in the period of the Teutonic migrations. The reference is to the Marcomannic and Sarmatian wars waged by Marcus Aurelius along the middle course of the Danube about 170 A.D. The troubles began with the incursions into the Empire of hordes of northern barbarians who penetrated as far as the Adriatic. The causes of this movement are to be found in events in Germany itself, to which we must presently turn our attention, but for the moment it may be noticed that the Emperor succeeded in re-establishing the frontier, though not, as he seems to have designed, in extending it. At the same time he adopted a plan of far-

reaching importance when he established on the Roman side a large number of barbarian settlers, who held their lands on condition of serving in the defence of the frontiers. "Thus began," it has been said, "the momentous process by which the declining population of the Empire was replaced by a fresh stock of northern peoples; for each succeeding Emperor followed the precedent set by Marcus, until a century later there was not a province free from the presence of the barbarian settler." It has been noticed already (*ante*, p. 39) that this interpenetration of barbarian and Roman, or rather Romanized provincial, along all the frontiers, while it prepared the way for the later invasions, had also a considerable importance from the point of view of archæology.

This Marcomannic war is regarded as opening the period of the Teutonic migrations, because the pressure southwards out of which it arose was in all probability caused by a movement of peoples in the interior of Germany, or rather of central Europe. The movement in question is that of the Gothic people from the shores of the Baltic to the lands to the north of the Black Sea. The Goths believed that they came originally from the Scandinavian peninsulas, but they certainly passed the last two or

three centuries B.C. and the first of the Christian era in the territory washed in its lower course by the Vistula. In the latter part of the second century A.D. a great migration carried them to the south and east, and brought them into touch with the flourishing seats of ancient classical civilization on the northern shores of the Black Sea. The Goths are the most interesting, the most gifted, and to all appearance the most artistic of the peoples with which we shall have to deal. Their intercourse with the Greeks of Tyras and Olbia, of Panticapæum, the modern Kerch, and of other classical centres, could not fail to have an educative influence. These early movements of the Goths, as connected with the Marcomannic wars on the Danube, are illustrated on Map D.

D



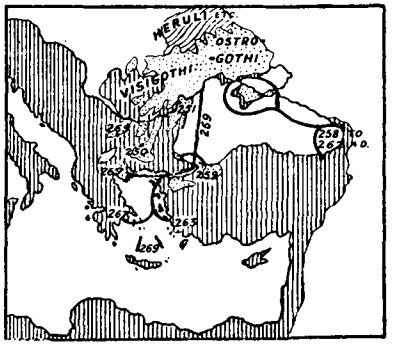
Early History of the Goths.

There were two sections of the Gothic name, the Ostrogoths and the Visigoths, and it is a popular belief, probably erroneous, but one to which the geographical relations of the two give some colour, that the first syllables of these names mean respectively

"east" and "west." Within a century of their settlement in the plains of southern Russia we find them brought into very active relations with the classical lands to the south and west of their seats. They were now on the confines of the Roman Empire and stood to the Romans in a relation which must once for all be understood. Jordanes, the historian of the Goths, tells us that at this time "though they lived far off under their own kings, yet they were at the same time allied (fœderati) to the Roman state, and received annual gifts." What these "gifts" implied we will presently inquire, but that much importance, in fact or in feeling, was attached to them is shown by the events which followed when under the Emperor Philip the Arabian, about 245 A.D., they were withheld by the Romans. The Goths, and other Germans whose seats were to the north and west of theirs, broke out into open hostilities against the civilized inhabitants of the classical provinces. Numerous raids both by sea and land, round the coasts of Asia Minor and of the Ægean and into the Balkan peninsula, made them masters of the spoil of some of the richest cities of the time such as Trebizond. With the Heruli and others of their German neighbours they at one time even attacked, but were repelled from, Athens,

and they actually spoiled the Temple of Diana at Ephesus. In the region of the Danube the Goths overran the Roman province of Dacia and raided the lands to the south of the river almost to the gates of Constantinople. Battles were fought with varying success. In 250 they captured Philippopolis, and as they were retiring laden with booty they were attacked by the army of the Emperor Decius. The Romans suffered a severe defeat and Decius himself fell in the action. Map E illustrates the localities and dates of these movements by sea and land.

E

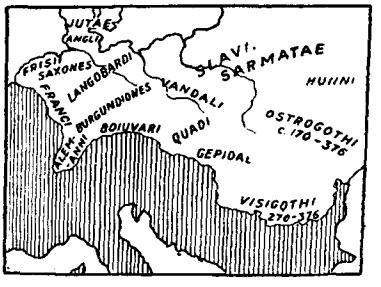


Gothic Raids by Sea and Land. *Temp.* Decius and Claudius, A.D. 250–270.

Twenty years later in this same Balkan region the Emperor Claudius Gothicus annihilated an immense Gothic army and struck thereby a blow that had far-reaching results. In the first place the commanding position of the Goths in that region was so far recognized that the machinery of Roman government was now removed from Dacia, which was abandoned to the

Visigoths. There was still left however much that was Roman, and this exercised a civilizing influence on the newcomers. "The great roads," as Dr. Hodgkin remarks, "the cities, the mines, the baths, the camps, the temples, remained to impress, to fascinate, to attract, the minds of the barbarians." Furthermore, during the comparatively peaceful period that follows for nearly a century (from 270 to 367), the Visigoths (and also the Ostrogoths) received Christianity in its Arian form through the agency of the missionary bishop Ulfilas, and in other ways became strongly tinctured with classical civilization. They lived of course under their own laws and paid no imperial taxes, but in military matters they acted as "fœderati" or allies, co-operating with the Roman forces though not formally enrolled either as legionaries or auxilia. The position of the Goths during this important but uneventful century, with the approximate situations at the same epoch, about 300 A.D., of others of the more important Teutonic peoples, is indicated on Map F. The result of this was that when the long expected but long deferred event, the capture of Rome by a barbarian army, actually took place, and the Visigoths made themselves masters of the eternal city, they entered it as Christians, and under the leadership of

one who had himself fought under the banner of the Emperor Theodosius.



Europe, *c.* 300 A.D.

The mental attitude of the more cultured and intelligent of the barbarians towards the older civilization is well illustrated by some often quoted words of one of the ablest of the barbarian leaders, Athaulf, or as we should say "Adolf," the brother-in-law and successor in the Visigothic kingship of Alaric the conqueror of Rome. The historian Orosius tells us that when he was with St. Jerome at Bethlehem he heard a citizen of Narbonne who had been well acquainted with Athaulf, repeat to the saint expressions he had heard the Visigoth use in regard to his own attitude towards the older Roman civilization. He had at first desired to obliterate utterly the Roman name and bring under the sway of the Goths all that had once belonged to the Romans, so that Romania should become Gothia, and where once there had been Cæsar Augustus there now should be Athaulf. But warned by long experience of the unbridled savagery of the Goths, and fearful of de-

priving the commonwealth of those laws without which it could not be a state at all, he had come to desire the glory of restoring anew and exalting the Roman name through the vigour and strength of the Goths, so that he should be known to posterity as the author of the restitution of Rome, since fate had not given it to him to be her remover.

The attempt to found a Gothic empire with a retention of Roman traditions was tried first not in Italy but in Gaul, whither the Visigoths passed on after the death of Alaric in southern Italy in the year 410. Athaulf and his immediate successors made themselves masters of south-western Gaul and of a large part of Spain, and in 418 the Gothic Kingdom of Toulouse, so-called after its capital, was formally established. The Goths appropriated two-thirds of the land and agricultural plant of the province, and were subject to their own laws, but their relation to the Empire was that of the older "fœderati," and they bound themselves to assist the Romans in military operations. It was in accordance with this understanding that the Visigothic King Theodoric joined his forces with those of the imperial representative Aëtius to oppose the Huns upon the plain of Troyes in 451. The kingdom of Toulouse lasted with varying fortunes till 507

when the Goths were attacked by Clovis at the head of the Salian Franks, and their power was completely broken. From this time onward they only held in Gaul a strip of territory along the southern coast and by the Pyrenees, and the centre of their power was shifted to Spain, where the Visigothic kingdom of Toledo survived till the advent of the Moors in 711 A.D.

It follows from this brief account of the Visigoths, that we should naturally look for their remains first of all in Hungary and Rumania where they passed a tranquil hundred years, and next in Spain and the south of France which they held for some centuries. With the Balkan peninsula, Italy, and western France, their contact was rather of a passing kind, and they were succeeded in each region by other Teutonic peoples. Hence though the treasure of Petrossa and the votive crowns found near Toledo in Spain may be confidently accepted as Visigothic, the products of the cemetery at Herpes on the Charente in western France, where this people were succeeded in 507 by the Franks, are of less assured provenance.

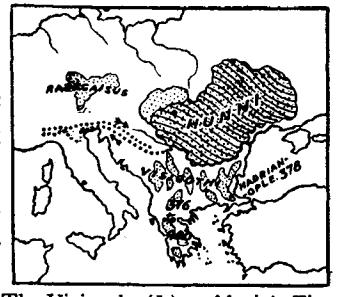
For the exciting cause of the Visigothic invasion of Italy and the West we must go back to about the year 376 A.D., when the Huns pressed in from the

east upon the Gothic peoples then settled in southern Russia and in Hungary. The Visigoths were driven across the Danube, see Maps G and H, and after raiding the Balkan peninsula and defeating in 378 the legions of the Emperor Valens at Hadrianople, began those marches towards the west which landed them in Rome in the eventful year A.D. 410. Map I gives their subsequent movements, at which we have already glanced.

G

Movements of the Huns to time of Attila, *c.* 376–450 A.D.

H

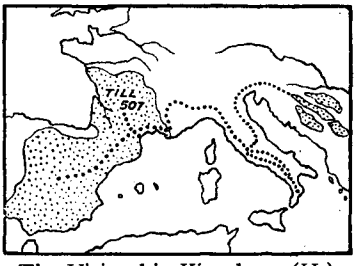


The Visigoths (I.) to Alaric's First Invasion of Italy, 400 A.D.

Meanwhile the impact of the Huns had driven the Ostrogoths into the interior, and for the next three-quarters of a century most of them remained in subjection to their Mongolian conquerors, until after the death of Attila in 452, when with the rest of the tributary Germans they shook themselves free of the odious des-

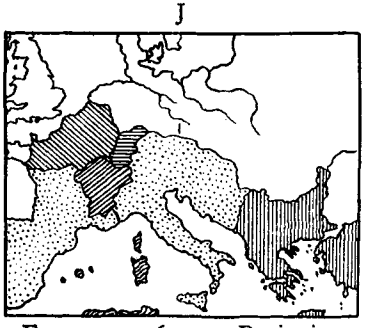
potism. How completely during this time they were under the domination of the Huns is shown by the fact that they formed part of the vast host of Attila in his invasion of Gaul in 451, and stood opposed in the great battle to their own kinsmen the Visigoths, who were fighting on the side of the Romans. The Ostrogoths reappear in Romanized lands in the latter part of the fifth century, and after a period of turbulence and wandering in the Balkan peninsula, they march under the command of their great leader Theodoric over the Julian Alps into Italy, of which Theodoric makes himself master in 496.

I



The Visigothic Kingdoms (II.). Rome taken 410. V.G. in Gaul and Spain to 711.

J



Europe, *c.* 496 A.D. Beginning of Theodoric's Reign.

The Map J shows at this time that Roman rule had practically disappeared from all the regions west of Illyria. The Ostro-

goths under Theodoric held Italy and the Illyrian provinces up to the Danube, while the Visigoths bore rule in south-western Gaul and in Spain. The Franks under Clovis, were, as we shall see later on, beginning to extend their conquests from their original seats in north-eastern France, and between Frank and Goth intervened the Burgundians and Alemanni, whose history will subsequently be followed. The Vandals were in northern Africa and the Mediterranean islands, whither we must presently trace their adventurous course.

Theodoric's rule in Italy is too notable a political event for it to be necessary to do more than refer to it in this place. For a time he actually carried into effect the ideal scheme of the earlier statesman Athaulf, and had "restored anew and exalted the Roman name through the vigour and strength of the Goths," and the years of his rule at Ravenna are the most glorious in all the migration period. The fact that he could not bequeath his power to a worthy successor was a tragic mishap, both for the Goths and perhaps for Europe at large. The reconquest of Italy by the forces of the eastern Empire under Belisarius and Narses, and the total extinction of the noble Ostrogothic name, are familiar matters of history.

OSTROGOTHIC ART

The artistic importance of the Ostrogoths can hardly be overestimated. It resides first of all in the fact of their residence for two hundred years in southern Russia, in contact alike with the Greek and Romanized-Greek civilizations of the northern shores of the Black Sea, and, what is of equal importance, with the seats of still older civilizations towards the east. According to the view taken in this book, this region is the cradle of early Teutonic art, and the Germanic impress was first stamped upon the artistic products of the migration period by the craftsmen of this race and region. How much in the resultant products was of classical, how much of oriental, how much of "Scythian," how much of native Teutonic origin, it may be possible to determine to some extent as we proceed. For the moment it is sufficient to indicate here the conviction that the commingling of elements and of influence, which ultimately produced Teutonic art, was largely accomplished in this Ostrogothic region in the period preceding the movement westward of the Huns about A.D. 376.

Teutonic products which come to light in this region have a good claim to an Ostrogothic origin, but we must always bear in mind (see *postea*, p. 101) that these products need not all be supposed to date

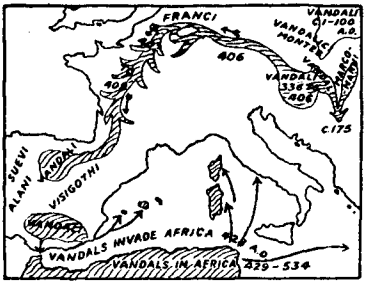
from the fourth century, for a remnant of the Goths remained for centuries in southern Russia and in the Crimea, just as Goths abode, and we may say still abide, in parts of the Scandinavian peninsula and islands, after the main body had started on their southward progress at the beginning of Gothic history. It is moreover at the present hour a strongly maintained theory of the origin of the Runic system of writing that it was invented by the Goths in southern Russia during the early period of their residence in that locality. The Runic characters are derived from the letters of the Greco-Roman alphabet, with considerable changes that are for the most part conditioned by the fact that the Runic characters were intended to be cut in wood. One of the earliest known inscriptions is that referred to, *ante*, p. 25, as occurring on a golden necklet in the treasure from Petrossa, which is probably of Gothic origin and of the fourth century. The inscription has now been mutilated, and the exact interpretation is uncertain. According to this theory the Runes were transmitted to the north by the easy and open route at the back of the Carpathians by which the Goths themselves had effected their southward migration. From the north they were carried over into Britain by the Anglian invaders, and are

there very abundant. They are on the other hand not much used among the southern Germans, the explanation being found in the fact that, in the fourth century, the Visigothic bishop Ulfilas evolved a Gothic alphabet, much more classical than the Runic forms, in which he wrote down his famous translation of the Scriptures, parts of which have come down to us. The existence of this alphabet would naturally, it is argued, interfere with the spread of the Runes from southern Russia along the Danube and the Rhine. Southern Runes are however found, as on a well-known Burgundian fibula from Charnay in the Museum of St. Germain, shown in figs. 55–6 on plate xiv. The Runic system of writing is accordingly to be regarded as a common possession of the Germanic race, and in this respect it resembles the forms of Teutonic art, which, varying in different localities as do the Runes, exhibit yet a distinctive Germanic character.

The residence of the Ostrogoths in Italy during the first half of the sixth century of our era produced notable artistic results. There is monumental evidence of their activity as we have already noted (*ante*, p. 16) at Ravenna, while there and in other parts beautiful objects of decorative art have from time to time been exhumed that can be distinguish-

ed by their style from the later products of Lombard craftsmen and can fairly be assigned to the countrymen and even to the circle of Theodoric.

K



The Vandal Invasion.

The next map of the series, K, exhibits the movements of the important race of the Vandals. In the first century of the Christian era they appear to have been a predominant people in that part of the great northern plain, beyond the line of mountains stretching from the Carpathians to the Harz, which lies between the upper courses of the Vistula and the Oder. Their presence there led to the name "Vandalici Montes," being applied by the Romans to what we know as the Riesengebirge, and some archæologists believe that they were responsible at a later date for the beautiful gold ornaments found at Sackrau in Silesia that are one of the glories of the Museum at Breslau. An obscure period in their history, during which they seem to have received Christianity, of course in its Arian form, possibly through the medium of the Ostrogoths, is termin-

ated by the beginning of a tremendous movement, one of the greatest in the period, which from 406 to 428 A.D. carried them from Pannonia down the valley of the Rhine, through Gaul and into Spain, and finally across the Straits of Gibraltar into northern Africa. There under the long rule of their extraordinarily able monarch Gaiseric they established a flourishing realm, and turning their attention to the sea embarked upon piratical voyages in which they explored and plundered the Mediterranean coasts. Their kingdom was demolished by Belisarius in 534 in connection with his reconquest of Italy from the Goths.

Teutonic works of art found in Africa may fairly claim a Vandal origin and such are to be seen both in the British Museum and in that of St. Germain. Sporadic finds of the same kind on the coasts of the eastern Mediterranean and in Egypt may have the same provenance. In certain branches of craftsmanship, such as iron work, the people were highly esteemed.

The Vandals possessed neither the nobility nor the culture of the Goths, and were in evil odour for their cruelty. They are described as subtle-witted and greedy of gain, fond of dainty living and less warlike than the Goths, but of chaste lives.

Their proverbial repute as destroyers seems to be due to the fact that when in Africa they carried their Arian prejudices so far as to persecute cruelly their Catholic fellow-Christians. The Catholics obtained the ear of posterity and the fame of the Vandals has accordingly suffered ever since. Their march through Gaul and into Spain was however of a devastating kind, and of this there are two rather striking indications. There is a certain Gallo-Roman cemetery at Vermand in north-eastern France, in which a succession of periods can be pretty clearly traced up to about the year of the Vandal invasion when the history of the place abruptly closes. Again, with regard to the south-western part of the same country, there is a curious statement in the Confession of St. Patrick, according to which he and a ship-load of companions landed on the Gallic coast about the second decade of the fifth century and for the space of twenty-eight days' journey found the land a desert. Considering the flourishing condition of Gaul in late Roman times this fact is of most sinister significance.

In Spain, whither they were accompanied by other tribes, such as a section of the old race of the Suevi, they met the Visigoths, and devastating struggles followed from which the country suffered

cruelly. The Suevi remained in the peninsula and founded in the north of what is now Portugal a kingdom, of which Braga was the capital, that endured for a century, and has left numismatic traces. A recent paper by Señor Pedro A. D'Azevedo calls attention to the German element in the local nomenclature of this region, and Portuguese museums contain examples of Teutonic art. The authorities on the national antiquities do not however believe that any special Suevic character, as distinct from what may be termed "Visigothic," can be detected in these.

The Alemanni have no very distinctive history such as that of the Goths or the Vandals, but are for the present purpose a highly important people. We possess considerable remains of their art, and as they came into very close contact with the Romans we hear a good deal about them from classical writers. The name "All men" implies that the people was formed out of a number of different units, and in this there is a resemblance between them and the Franks. The pre-history of the Alemanni is uncertain, but they are mentioned for the first time under this name in the year 213 A.D., and in the region which remains throughout the whole later period the scene of their chief activity. This was the triangular tract of country of which Wür-

temberg is the centre, that has been already noticed (*ante*, p. 62) as opposite a break in the main line of the natural defences of the Rhine and the Danube. This vulnerable part of the frontier had been defended for more than three hundred miles by the "Pfahlgraben," but shortly after the middle of the third century the Alemanni burst the barrier which was never afterwards effectively re-established. The Romans under many Emperors from Aurelian to Gratian waged war with these threatening neighbours, and the campaigns against them of Julian are well described by Ammianus Marcellinus. Their power was ultimately cut short by the extension of that of the Franks, as will presently be noticed. They were Christianized comparatively late.

The fortunes of the people, who engaged in no regular migrations, may be followed on maps F, J, N, O, and P.

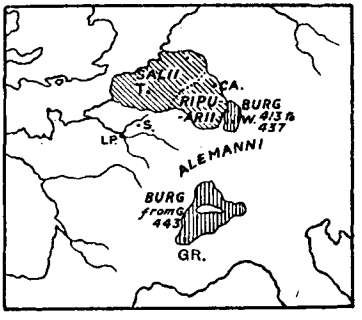
Alemannic cemeteries are to be found in some abundance in the region of the Black Forest, in Würtemberg, western Bavaria, and the northern and eastern parts of Switzerland. Recent discoveries in Alemannic graves at Gammertingen, north of the Lake of Constance, have been published in an important volume by Dr. T. W. Gröbbels entitled *Der Reihengräberfund von Gammertingen.*

THE BURGUNDIANS

On the Bavarians enough has been said, *ante*, p. 54.

The Burgundians (see Map L) were near neighbours of the Alemanni, and ultimately suffered extinction like that people at the hands of the all-devouring Franks. In earlier days however they had played an important rôle in that region of central Europe to a part of which their name still clings. We find them approaching the boundaries of the Empire from the north-east about the middle of the third century A.D. and occupying the lands that were vacated by the Alemanni when they broke through the Roman *Limes* between the Rhine and Danube. Involved from this time onwards in constant hostilities with the Alemanni, they cultivated friendly relations with the Romans, and of all the Teutonic peoples they were least often engaged in actual conflict with the representatives of the Empire. The Burgundians appear on the page of history as a genial but somewhat boorish people, not specially

L



Franks and Burgundians at accession of Clovis, 481.

warlike though of notable bodily prowess (*ante*, p. 43). In artistic matters their taste was pronounced, and certain objects, especially some in which religious representations are prominent, are of an unmistakably Burgundian character.

At the time when the great Vandal movement of 406 A.D. was in progress, a movement in which as we have seen other Teutonic peoples bore a part, the Burgundians seem to have established themselves on the Rhine, in a territory of which Worms was the capital, and in 413 the Romans confirm them in their possession of this delectable land. Here they received Christianity, at first apparently in its Catholic form, though afterwards they adopted the prevailing Arian creed of their Teutonic kinsfolk. The sojourn of the Burgundians in the territory round Worms is of literary moment, as the historical portion of the *Nibelungenlied* has this for its scene and Burgundians for its protagonists. The catastrophe of the epic, the destruction of the Burgundian heroes at the hands of the Huns, is also historical, as the Burgundian residence in this region was brought to an end owing to a military disaster which was inflicted on them by this very people.

In 437 A.D., Aëtius, the Roman administrator, pursuing the friendly policy traditional in that

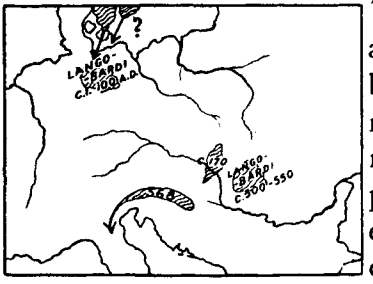
quarter, transferred the remnant of the Burgundians that had survived the Hunnish disaster to the district about and south of the Lake of Geneva, where they settled down in a district corresponding to the French-speaking portion of Switzerland and Savoy as far south as Grenoble. It is a remarkable fact that the division at this time between Burgundian and Alemannic territories corresponds to the existing line of demarcation between the French- and German-speaking Swiss. The Burgundians, true to their philo-Roman disposition, suffered their language to assume a Romance character, while the Alemanni, a ruder, more primitive people, preserved their native Teutonism and, as the name "Allemagne" implies, came to represent in the eyes of their more Romanized neighbours in the ancient Gaul all that was typically German.

From this comparatively small territory the Burgundians spread westwards till they possessed Lyons and the valley of the Rhone down about as far as Avignon and up to Auvergne and the upper waters of the Loire. Their position at the time is indicated on Map J. They were naturally brought into close political relations with their two most powerful neighbours, the Goths to the south, and the still more formidable Franks towards the north. They held their

own for a considerable time, and impressed their own artistic character on the products found in numerous cemeteries in Switzerland, Savoy, and Burgundy.

It will be convenient to refer here to the Map M, which gives some of the data about the early history of the Lombards. The reconquest of Italy, and the renewed establishment there of Roman sovereignty on the ruins of the Ostrogothic power, was accomplished by about the middle of the sixth century, but not long after that, in the year 568 A.D., Italy was entered by another swarm of barbaric invaders who gradually made themselves masters of the greater part of the peninsula, which they held for two hundred years. These were the Lombards, the so-called "Lango-bardi." The equation Langobardi = Longbeards sounds very like a piece of popular etymology, and the true name of the people was in all probability really "Bardi." They seem like the Goths to have come originally from the Scandinavian peninsula, but we first hear of

M



The Lombard Migrations.

them in the district on the Lower Elbe, not far from Lüneburg, that was for long called after their name "Bardengau." There were certain striking affinities, in dress and other respects, observed between the Lombards and the Anglo-Saxons, which may have been due to local contiguity in these early times, though the two are reckoned by some to belong to the same branch of the German race. Moving up the Elbe they seem to have taken some part in the Marcomannic war in the time of Marcus Aurelius, but after this we lose sight of them for a long period of time. At the beginning of the sixth century they were in occupation of part of what is now Hungary, and thence under their chieftain Alboin they effected their eventful march over the Julian Alps into Italy.

The Lombards present themselves, or are presented by their ecclesiastical opponents, in an unattractive light. Velleius Paterculus calls them "Langobardi, gens etiam Germana ferocitate ferocior," and the modern historian of "Italy and her Invaders" christens them "the Anarchists of the Völkerwanderung." They were Arians at the time of the invasion, but were recognized as Catholics at the end of the sixth century. After they had settled down in Italy, not in sole possession but in certain

grèat duchies divided by parts of the country still in nominal subjection to the eastern Empire, there was considerable friction between them and the ecclesiastical authorities at Rome. They were however in a way religious, as may be judged by the gold crosses sewn on their grave clothes (*postea*, p. 149), and they were great builders of churches. The remains found in their cemeteries belong to a comparatively late division of our period, the seventh and eighth centuries, and are not in artistic quality so fine as the earlier Gothic productions. They include however certain distinctive kinds of fibulæ, well represented in the Museum at Trento, and special objects like the gold crosses and ornamented shield umbos (*postea*, p. 128), so that artistic originality cannot be denied to them. From what we hear of them in these more primitive times, it is difficult to realize that later on their stock was to produce some of the greatest thinkers, writers, and artists of the medieval world.

The last remark may be applied in a modified form to the last of the great divisions of the Teutonic name, the Franks. The Franks had a bad reputation for the rather un-Teutonic quality of faithlessness; Clovis, the founder of their empire, was one of the greatest criminals on a large scale known to

history; while there are few family annals more deeply infected with perfidy, vice, and bloodshed than those of the royal race of the Salian Franks, the Merwings. Yet the Franks became in time the dominant Teutonic race of the Continent, absorbing one after another most of the other Germanic kingdoms, while the vast dominions thus formed were consolidated and administered by the genius of the hero who, despite his faults, presents in an ideal form all the greatest qualities of the Teutonic race, Charles of Aachen and of Rome.

Charles however was a Ripuarian and not a Salian Frank. It is the Salians who come forward first upon the stage of history. Something has been already said about the beginnings of the people (*ante*, p. 54), and we may take our start now with the accession of Clovis on the death of his father Childeric in 481 A.D. Childeric's capital was Tournay in Belgium, and this shows that up to that time the Franks were confined to their seats on the Rhine, Meuse and Scheldt, where as we shall see *postea*, p. 102, they have left so many artistic traces of their former presence. The great extension of the Frankish power was the work of Clovis, and he was mightily assisted along his blood-stained path by the fact that he joined the Catholic party on his

conversion and enjoyed the advantage of its backing.

It is no part of the purpose in view to sketch the political history of the Franks and their somewhat complicated relations with the Burgundians and their other neighbours. There must not however be passed over in silence the name of Theudebert, a grandson of Clovis, a young prince of the most brilliant promise, whose early death in 548 A.D. put a stop to a vast project he had formed in conjunction with the Lombards and Gepidæ of an attack on the Byzantine Empire, an enterprise that might have profoundly affected European history. As it was, he struck his contemporaries with something like awe when he called himself "Augustus," and issued a gold coinage with his own name and likeness.

The gradual extension of the Frankish domains can be followed on the Maps L, J, O, P, R. L shows the position of the two branches of the people at the time of the death of Childeric and accession of Clovis, and N the relative situations at the same date of all the other Teutonic peoples whose fortunes we have been following. It is impossible of course to arrange these maps in a strictly chronological series and in N we see the Ostrogoths only advancing through Illyria towards the conquest of the still

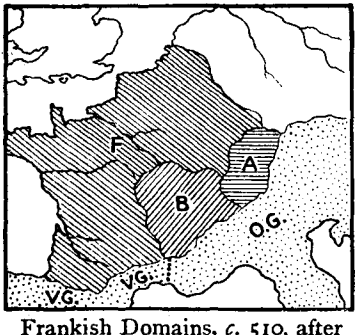
CONQUESTS OF CLOVIS

Roman lands south of the Alps and the Danube, while a portion of northern Gaul with its capital Soissons is still Roman, under the vice-regal rule of Syagrius. The conquest of this domain was the first achievement of the career of Clovis and the result has been shown on Map J. The sensitive religious conscience of Clovis was scandalized by the idea that Arian Goths should hold a large part of Gaul, and he accordingly attacked and conquered the Visigothic kingdom of Toulouse in 507 A.D., thus extending his dominions to the limits shown in Map O. The Burgundians and Alemanni still figure on the map as independent units, but in the last half of the century the waves of Frankish

N

The West, *c.* 485 A.D. Accession of Clovis, 481.

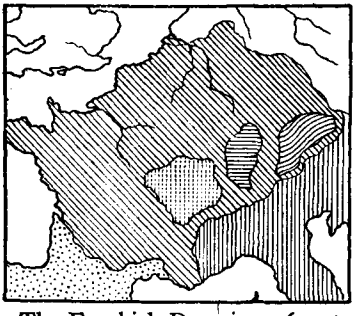
O



Frankish Domains, *c.* 510, after conquest of Visigoths, 507.

conquest closed over these, as over the Bavarians further to the east, while by this time again, south of the Alps, the Roman power had been re-established after the extinction of the Ostrogothic and Vandalic names (Map P).

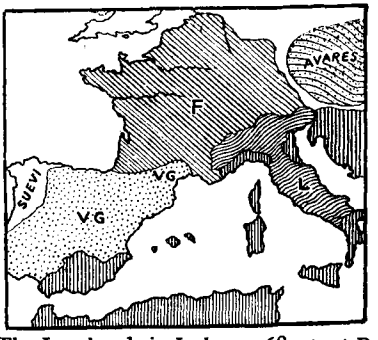
P



The Frankish Domains, 561, at death of Chlothar.

After the Lombard invasion of Italy large parts of the lands round the western basin of the Mediterranean still remained nominally Roman and this condition of affairs is exhibited in Map Q. Meanwhile great changes were in preparation, affecting the areas to the east and to the west of the Frankish domains, and the southern Mediterranean coasts. From the east the Bulgarians and Avars as well as the older Slavs press in and oppose the further exten-

Q

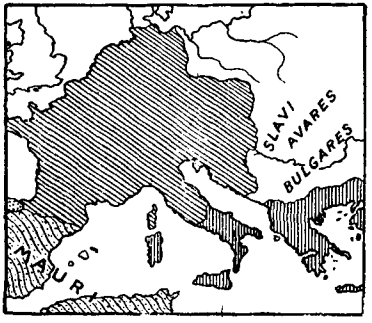


The Lombards in Italy, *c.* 568–774 A.D.

sion in that direction of Frankish rule, while from the south-east to the north-west of the southern Mediterranean lands sweeps the irresistible tide of Muslim invasion. The consequences were most serious for the Romans and the Visigoths. The former lost their recently recovered province of Africa and the latter were driven by the victorious Moors after 711 A.D. into the extreme north-eastern portion of the Spanish peninsula, while in 720 they finally lost to the Franks the district of Septimania along the Mediterranean coast, which had remained to them from their once extensive Gallic empire. When Charles the Great consolidated his dominions, these were bounded at the Pyrenees by those of the Caliphate of Cordova, and to the east extended about as far as the ancient Pannonia. To the north Charles subdued after a fierce resistance the hitherto pagan Saxons of the Continent, and by the vigour of the forced conversions to Christianity that marked his victorious footsteps he may have indirectly inspired, as a sort of pagan reaction, the Viking descents of the succeeding epoch. Southwards in 744 A.D. he completed the conquest of the Lombards and brought the greater part of Italy under his sceptre. Map R exhibits the full extent of the Frankish dominions at his death in A.D. 814.

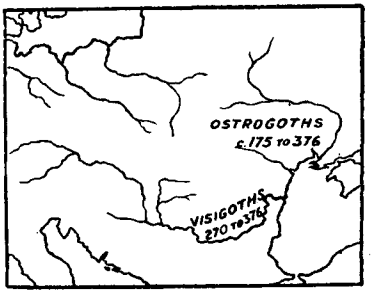
From the artistic point of view it should be borne in mind that this absorption in the Frankish empire of the domains of the Burgundians, Alemanni, Lombards, and the rest, did not necessarily involve the extinction of any distinctive artistic feeling which had been cultivated in the hitherto independent regions. It is true that these distinctions become less marked as time advances, but Lombard art, for example, remains Lombardic even after the Frankish conquest. At the same time, if we want to know what is specially or exclusively Burgundian, Alemannic, etc., it is well to judge from objects produced during the respective periods of independence, and on this account two additional maps, S and T, are here appended to exhibit, first in the case of the all-im-

R



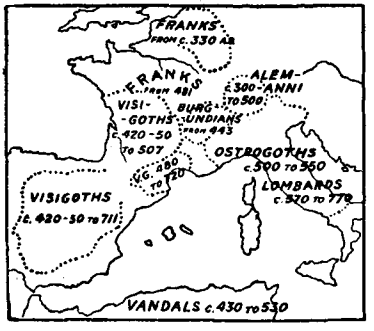
The Frankish Empire at death of Charles the Great, 814.

S



portant period of sojourn of the Goths in Eastern Europe, and next in the West as a whole, those periods and of localities where the art of the different peoples is likely to be represented in its most characteristic aspects.

T



The above account of the Teutonic migrations and settlements does not include any notice of those of the Angles, Saxons, and other tribes that made themselves masters of Britain. These movements were apart from the general course of the migrations affecting Europe as a whole, and they could not be properly discussed without opening up controverted questions of much complexity, to deal with which is not possible within the present limits of space. The view taken by the writer of the course of these movements is indicated on a subsequent page. See *postea*, p. 182.

A word on the art called "Carolingian" will conclude this already somewhat lengthy chapter. This was a style of art centered at Charles' court and in the Rhineland and northern Gaul which formed

his own special domain, and inspired by that revived study of Roman antiquity which was so pronounced a feature of the culture he inspired or favoured. As Charles had recalled to life the form of the Roman Empire of the West, so he strove to revive the elements of culture which existed in the later period of that Empire before it yielded to the pressure of the barbarians. Charles, who, as we have seen, was before all things a patriotic German, did not wish to supersede the native art, but aimed at a synthesis between it and the older classical forms. The most important result was the re-introduction of conventional classical foliage founded on the acanthus ornament of the ancients, and wherever this occurs, as it does to a slight extent on the Tassilo Cup of the end of the eighth century, it is a sure sign of the influence of the Carolingian Renaissance. The prevalence from this time forward of these classical reminiscences in ornament, together with a corresponding improvement in figure work inspired by late-classical models, marks the conclusion of the Teutonic period proper, and the beginning of what is known, from its synthesis of classical and barbaric, as Romanesque. As was noted before, for purely barbaric work we must from this time onwards turn to the still pagan Vikings of the Scandinavian North.

CHAPTER V

THE GERMANIC CEMETERY

Location and general arrangement of the Cemetery. Cremation and Inhumation. Orientation and Tomb Furniture, with their bearing on questions of date. Disposal and equipment of the body.

TACITUS tells us that the Germans avoided cities, and even contiguous habitations, settling down in detached units apart from each other, just as spring or field or grove offered attractions. This statement has been brought into contrast with the appearance of the Teutonic cemetery, which in its extent and arrangements seems to testify to a strong social instinct that at any rate in death drew these units of the population together. Apart however from Tacitus, our evidence shows that the Teutons, though as Ammianus Marcellinus remarks, averse from the life of towns, settled together in village communities, some of the best surviving types of

which are found in our own country and along the middle Rhine. To these communities the cemeteries correspond, but while the life of the village itself, in many parts of Teutonized Europe, has continued without any serious break to modern times, the history of the village burialplace has not been continuous but was transformed about the eighth century through the influence of the Church. From that time onwards the cemetery has formed the *temenos* of the village church and the population has dwelt all around it, while in the earlier pagan period the country cemeteries were at a certain distance from the habitations of the living. When the churchyard had superseded the older and remoter burialplaces, these passed gradually out of memory, and have no history until quite modern times, when they have been rediscovered as archæological curiosities. The location of these cemeteries in relation to the natural features of the country and to the distribution of the population; their number; their extent; the arrangement and orientation of the graves; the forms of these; the treatment of the body before burial; the disposal of the body or its ashes in the receptacle prepared for it; the tomb furniture which accompanied it; the mark or monument, if any, that indicated to

posterity the place of interment; the indications, if any, in connection with the above of social and other distinctions among the interred; the later history of the cemeteries, and the circumstances of their rediscovery in medieval and more modern times—all these are matters that repay investigation, but upon which it would be easy to write a substantial volume. Hence it will be readily understood that any systematic treatment of the subjects thus marked out is impossible, and all that can be attempted is to call attention to some archæological points connected with the cemetery that are of special interest, and then to illustrate by a series of examples the various items of Teutonic Tomb Furniture.

General statements are sometimes made about Teutonic cemeteries, but the graveyards are so numerous as to make it hazardous to go beyond the one such statement already made, that they were at a certain distance from the habitations of the living. Kemble, and after him Lindenschmit, maintained that where the natural features of the country admit they are always on rising ground. This generalization certainly applies to a good part of south-eastern England, and it is strikingly illustrated by the recent discovery of a Jutish burialplace on the height of

the down north-east of Folkestone, where the Dover road goes over it. The situation is a remarkable one, as the cemetery must have belonged to the early Teutonic settlement in the hollow far below, that has now become Folkestone. The cemeteries, in situations where the population must have been abundant, are very numerous, and Lindenschmit instances the middle Rhine as a district where the burial fields "are so surprisingly abundant that almost all the villages which, with slight exceptions, can be recognized as very ancient settlements, also possess their Frankish cemeteries, so that a district some eight or nine miles in diameter may contain from eight to ten of these." The fertile Pays de Vaud in Switzerland, with Savoy as far south as the Isère, is lavishly sown with Burgundian graveyards, and Jutish cemeteries are dotted thickly about parts of Kent.

How numerous are the known cemeteries may be judged from the fact that within the limits of ancient Gaul, that is, France with Switzerland and the adjacent parts of Germany, M. Barrière-Flavy has amassed a list of about 2300 names. In extent they vary enormously. A single interment like that in the tumulus in the churchyard at Taplow, Bucks, may be important enough to rank as a cemetery, and from this minimum the number of graves may

vary up to a total such as that reached at Keszthely in Hungary, by the Plattensee, where some 4500 graves have been opened. The following are statistics of a few cemeteries typical of the regions which best represent the culture of the different Teutonic races, those that have been most scientifically explored receiving the preference.

The only assured Ostrogothic cemeteries known are in southern Russia. Elsewhere the finds ascribable to this race have come to light in sporadic fashion. The recently opened cemetery at Suuk-Su, near Yalta in the Crimea, may serve as an example. It should be noted that a portion of the Goths remained in southern Russia after the migration therefrom of the main body, and remains of these later Goths are found in cemeteries such as those at Suuk-Su, Kertch, etc. A large cemetery with some 900 graves at Herpes on the Charente in western France is claimed as Visigothic, but the region became Frankish in 507 A.D., and more assured Visigothic work may be recognized in the finds in the south of France as at Tressant, Hérault, near Montpellier. The Burgundian cemetery at Charnay near Chalon-sur-Saône furnished many hundreds of graves, and that of Bel-Air near Lausanne 300. A Lombard cemetery has been recently explored at Castel Trosino, near As-

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coli, on the Adriatic, and offered for study the tomb furniture of 240 graves. There are Lombard cemeteries at Cividale and other places.

Frankish cemeteries are very numerous. The Ripuarian section is well represented at Selzen in Rhine-Hesse. The exploration of this in 1845-6 by the brothers Lindenschmit set an example for the scientific treatment of these relics of antiquity. Twenty-eight graves were reported on.

Cemeteries of the Salian Franks are abundant in Belgium and north-eastern France, and their contents are admirably displayed in the museum at Namur. Harmignies near Brussels has furnished a fine assortment of examples to the museum of that capital. The museums of Boulogne and St. Quentin, with the private collections of MM. Eck, Pilloy, and Boulanger, contain abundant remains from similar cemeteries in north-eastern France. All these collections are of special value as representing an early stage of Frankish culture, when the people were in great part settled on the lands as Roman *coloni*, and under the influence of the pre-existing Gallo-Roman civilization. On the archæological questions that arise out of this situation M. Pilloy, of St. Quentin, is a living authority of the first rank.

THEIR DISTRIBUTION

In Normandy the principal Frankish sites examined by the Abbé Cochet yielded from 450 to 150 tombs each.

The Alemannic cemetery at Nordendorf, in what is now Bavaria, gave a total of 425 graves, and further to the east the Marcomannic Bavarians are represented by the well-explored field of Reichenhall, near Salzburg, with its 525 graves.

In our own country the interpenetration of Angles and Saxons makes it sometimes difficult to assign cemeteries in certain regions to their proper occupants. There is no doubt that the Faussett group of cemeteries between Canterbury and the coast, and that at Chessell Down in the Isle of Wight, stand for the Jutes. The 700 tombs reported on in Faussett's *Inventorium Sepulchrale* produced the magnificent collection now in the museum at Liverpool. The West Saxons are represented at any rate by the majority of burials in the cemeteries at Fairford, Gloucestershire; Long Wittenham, Berks; and Harnham Hill by Salisbury; the South Saxons at High Down near Worthing; the East Saxons at Saffron Walden and Ipswich; the East Angles at Little Wilbraham, Cambridgeshire; the Mercians at Stapenhill near Burton-on-Trent. Full and accurate information about all these sites

and their yields is being published in the *Victoria History of the Counties of England*, by Mr. Reginald Smith, and other writers.

In Hungary the cemeteries of the period are very numerous, and have been fully reported on in Professor Hampel's great catalogue, in three volumes, of the Antiquities of Hungary in the early medieval period. The ethnological connections of all these cemeteries are however very difficult to fix satisfactorily. The Scandinavian finds have of course been amply reviewed in the "mustergültig" publications of Sophus Müller, Montelius, Engelhardt, Mestorf, etc., but the publications on the north German cemeteries generally, in which the question of cremation and inhumation becomes of such great importance, are rather scattered, and the subject waits for a monograph like that of Hampel just referred to.

The most striking difference to be observed when comparing Teutonic cemeteries is that between the cremation cemetery and the burial ground where the body is laid in the ground unburnt, and there is the same contrast in certain cemeteries both at home and abroad between parts where there are cremated burials and other portions where inhumation is the rule. It would be travelling far beyond the limits of this volume to discuss the profoundly interesting

problem of the general relations, both in idea and in history, between these two contrasted methods for the disposal of the body. To judge from Tacitus cremation appears to have been general among the forefathers of the Teutons of the migration period, but the cemeteries of the period itself, with which we are concerned, are in the vast majority of cases inhumation cemeteries, though in many instances there remain in them traces of cremation. As would be expected, cremation is more largely represented in the North, the original seat of the Teutonic peoples, than in the South, residence in which had brought them to some extent under Christian influence. There is the classic instance adduced long ago by Kemble of the vast northern necropolis on Lüneburg heath, where 3000 cremated bodies were counted with only traces of two interments of the whole corpse, and to set against this we may take the fact that, among the 4500 burials at Keszthely in Hungary, Hampel only reports twelve cases of cremation, while the more recent explorations at Reichenhall in Bavaria revealed only one case of complete cremation among the 525 graves.

At Castel Trosino in Italy the late Lombardic cemetery yielded no instance of cremation. In many cemeteries there is evidence found of partial

burning, but it is uncertain whether this is to be always regarded as evidence of the survival of cremation practices, or as due to other causes, such as burial at night time by the light of wood fires, as has been suggested by the explorer of the cemetery last referred to. In our own country the phenomena are the same in little that we find on a larger scale in the Teutonic area as a whole. The orthodox view has been that cremation is an Anglian custom but not a custom of the Saxons. There is however inhumation as well as burning in Anglian cemeteries and evidence of cremation in those of southern Britain, so that Mr. Chadwick has recently expressed the opinion that there is after all little to choose between the customs of the northern and southern divisions of our Teutonic conquerors.

We are concerned here with the Teutonic cemetery because it presents to us examples of the art and craftsmanship of the period in the form of its tomb furniture. Such tomb furniture is of far less importance in the case of cremated burials than in those of the other kind, for, as Sophus Müller has remarked, the prevalence of cremation implies a poverty in both the quantity and the quality of the objects laid in the grave. Hence we need concern

PLATE IV

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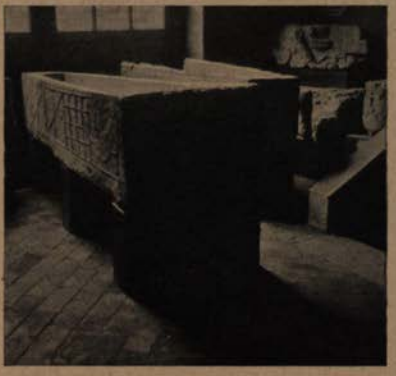

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13. RUNIC TOMBSTONE AT CANTERBURY.

14. PLASTER SARCOPHAGI, MUSÉE CARNAVALET, PARIS.

15. LOMBARD CHIEFTAIN'S COFFIN, INNSBRUCK.

16. SKELETON WITH TOMB FURNITURE FROM REICHENHALL, BAVARIA.

ourselves only with the customs accompanying the burial of the unburned body.

The normal inhumation cemetery of the Germans of the migration period, that is the normal early Teutonic cemetery in general, is curiously like a modern cemetery without its tombstones. The tombstone, very much in its modern form, occurs at Mycenæ, and in its origin it may go back to the prehistoric standing stone or Menhir. Save in a few instances, for the most part inspired by Roman examples, the Teutons did not erect stones over the resting place of their dead, but there is an exceptional and very interesting tombstone at Canterbury, found near Sandwich, on which in Runic characters is the name R Æ H Æ B U L (fig. 13). In some cases they carried on into the migration period the older Bronze age custom of marking the place of interment by a tumulus of earth. In the large Jutish cemetery on Kingston Down, near Canterbury, Faussett reported that he found 260 graves under tumuli and only 43 over which there was no trace remaining of a mound. In general however no external mark of the kind is now to be discerned above the graves of our Teutonic forefathers, though the fact that as a rule some order, and at times great regularity, is observed in the

placing of the graves, seems to suggest that there was originally some mark, possibly of wood, used to indicate the position of each interment. When the ground is opened the arrangement, form, size, and average depth of the graves are remarkably like what we are accustomed to in modern times. Coffins, occasionally sarcophagi or rougher cists of stone, but more often shells of wood, were employed but by no means as a general custom. The most interesting sarcophagi are those constructed by the Franks of the district round Paris of slabs of plaster. They are to be seen in the Musée Carnavalet, Paris (fig. 14). The best wooden coffin is the iron-mounted Lombard one at Innsbruck (fig. 15). The wood-work is of course modern. In some cemeteries bodies are found to have been laid in the grave dressed and adorned but not enclosed in any coffin. M. Pilloy has remarked in this connection that the body was probably borne to the grave side on an open bier, covered perhaps with a shroud.

The orientation of the grave demands a word. It is very common to find this lying east and west, and such a position is generally regarded as due to Christian influence. The notion of orienting buildings or tombs is certainly Christian, but it was taken over from the pagan world, and de-

pends on solar ideas according to which the East is the home of life. Durandus in the thirteenth century prescribes orientation in burials on these old traditional grounds. "So ought a man to be buried" he writes "that his head may be to the west and that he direct his feet to the east, wherewith even in his very position he may be as one that prayeth, and may give sign that he is in readiness to hasten from the setting to the rising, from the world to eternity." The body placed with its feet to the east would be so disposed that when it arose at the resurrection it would face what was held to be the quarter of life. Exactly the same idea prescribed the placing of the door of the Egyptian tomb of the Old Empire, and orientation of the kind has even been observed in stone age burials. Hence there is no absolute certainty that oriented Teutonic burials are Christian, but at the same time there is a presumption that such burials belong to a time after the conversion of the particular Teutonic people concerned.

Orientation has therefore some chronological significance. Can we say the same of tomb furniture? The most striking difference between the modern and the ancient cemetery is the presence in the older sepulchres of Tomb Furniture, the use of which gradually went out of fashion under the influence of

Christianity. The practical universality of the practice in pagan times may be taken for granted, and this may account for its long duration even among peoples nominally converted to the new faith. The vast majority of the Teutonic cemeteries, at any rate in the lands south and west of the Rhine and Danube, date from a time when the peoples who used them were Christian at any rate in name, and definite indications of Christianity, though somewhat sporadic, are almost everywhere in evidence. As a matter of strict logic Christians should have been interred without grave furniture, just as their bodies should have been laid not in the older heathen cemeteries but in consecrated graveyards connected with places of Christian worship. As a fact, just as the substitution of the churchyard for the burial-place away upon the uplands worked itself out by degrees in the centuries between the sixth and the ninth, so the habit of clothing and equipping the corpse was only very gradually relinquished, and indeed, in the case of the chalice buried with the priest and the arms of the warrior hung up over his tomb, survived into the later middle ages. Hence the presence of tomb furniture is no guarantee that the burial is of the pagan period. It is observed that the later Teutonic burials are accompanied

with much less grave furniture than the earlier ones, and this is no doubt due to the influence of the Church, while at the same time some of the costliest treasures have come to light in graves assuredly of the Christian period.

On the subject of the dates of these cemeteries one can only say generally that they are on the whole latish in the period. Cemeteries of the fifth century are rare, but may be found in parts of Belgium and northern France. There are one or two small ones in Hungary. Dr. Paul Reinecke holds that all over south Germany, the Rhineland, and France, the earliest of the cemeteries date from the sixth and most of them from the seventh and eighth centuries. Of course in the case of important cemeteries more than one period of time will be represented, and, this, it has been pointed out, is especially true of Keszthely in Hungary, the finds in which present some notable difficulties.

As regards the general disposition of bodies in the cemetery, the following sentence, that refers to the necropolis of Zikó in Hungary, may be taken as a typical description applying in the majority of cases over the whole region under our observation: "There were opened 552 tombs . . . . the bodies lay as a rule in narrow graves, on their backs with arms

stretched out by their sides, the head towards the west, the feet towards the east; they were clothed, and in general equipped with the usual tomb furniture. In seven cases the deceased had his horse buried with him." Similar accounts from different countries could easily be adduced. The skeleton shown in fig. 16 is Bavarian (Marcomannic) and was found at Reichenhall. It is in the Museum of Ethnology at Berlin and may be regarded as typical.

It is a notable fact that the Teutonic cemetery is very democratic, and the marked distinctions of class that existed among the living have left little trace in the domain presided over by the great leveller, Death. There is no aristocratic quarter, no quarter of the servile population, and graves that from their rich contents must belong to members of the noble class are found side by side with others meanly furnished or offering nothing to the explorer. The "Kingston" brooch now at Liverpool, perhaps the finest of all Germanic jewels, was found in Kent on a day in 1771 on which twenty-seven neighbouring tumuli were also opened. Of these, twelve contained no tomb furniture at all, and only six furnished any article of the least importance. The bodies found in tombs destitute of furniture are however disposed with just the same care as those in graves

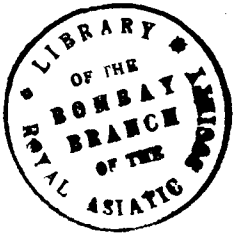
richly equipped. In some cemeteries a number of graves may form so compact a group as to suggest the burialplace of a sept or family. Occasionally the tombs of a man and a woman lie closely together and are similarly furnished, so that the interment of a husband and wife is suggested. Again, a couple may occupy the same grave, and there are cases in which the skeleton of a young child has been found laid across the outstretched arms of its parents. The graves of children are as a rule interspersed among the others, but there are instances, as at Samson in Belgium, where a part of the cemetery seems to have been set apart for the juveniles. It is interesting to note here that, as occurs elsewhere, the graves of the boys were furnished with small axes and lance heads, on the model of those borne by adult warriors. In the recently opened Alemannic cemetery at Gammertingen, north of the Lake of Constance, there occurs what seems to be a family group. There was the warrior, buried with the completest panoply of which there is record. He had, besides his shield, a shirt of mail, apparently of German work, a noble helmet, a spatha, a scramasax, a battleaxe, a spear, with the rare addition of a quiver and sheaf of arrow heads. Near by was the skeleton of a stately woman and at her feet the

bones of a horse. The bones of a young girl of about eight came next, and forming part of the same group were two or three graves that seemed to be those of handmaids. All had suitable tomb furniture.

M. Pilloy describes in interesting fashion how he gradually uncovered, in an unrifled tomb of the sixth century, the richly equipped body of a Frankish lady of rank and substance—describes it too with a touch of that sentiment which not even archæology can eradicate from the Gallic soul. "It was not without a certain emotion," he writes, "that when I had lifted the cover of the cist I beheld, without any veil but the thin coating of dust, the skeleton within. It was very complete and wonderfully preserved, and I soon recognized it as that of a woman who had died in the full vigour of her age, in that second period of youth when beauty glows with a warmth like that of the ripened corn.

"The jewels, with which her dear ones, perhaps a husband inconsolable in his grief, had adorned her with tender solicitude, were so distinctly to be seen in the positions they had occupied on her person, that with a little imagination one could picture this before the mind just as it appeared when committed to the tomb. The feet touched one end of the cist, and the head, slightly turned to the right, the other.

The limbs were extended, the hands crossed upon the body." After a description of the numerous ornaments and other objects, M. Pilloy concludes, "As one sees, the tomb furniture of this wealthy lady is a testimony alike to the skill of those who created it and to the innate love of adornment, which, at all times and in all places, has been a ruling passion with the fairer half of the human race"!


LIBRARY OF THE BOMBAY BRANCH OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY

CHAPTER VI

ARMS AND EQUIPMENT OF THE WARRIOR

Importance in this matter of the question, Roman or Teuton? The spatha or broadsword, the scramasax and knife, the spear, the angon, the axe, the shield. Narrative of the death of Teias.

THE chief normal items of Teutonic tomb furniture are indicated in the headings of this and the two succeeding chapters. Certain groups of objects, such as arms, are found only in graves of men; other groups, consisting partly in ornaments such as necklets of variegated glass beads, and partly in feminine implements, occur only in women's graves; while a third class of objects, such as the brooch, the buckle, and the knife, may be found accompanying the bones of either sex indifferently. Many of the objects are of a kind not specially Teutonic, but like the mounted wooden buckets, or the beads and vases of glass, are found in Celtic or in Roman cemeteries, while many others have a distinctively Germanic character.

ROMAN AND GERMANIC ARMS

The arms are of special interest in connection with the question of native or Roman provenance, which a worker in this field can never hope to escape. It was in the military sphere, as we have seen, that the interpenetration of Teuton and Roman was particularly intimate, and it is quite plausible to argue that German weapons would be only modified Roman ones. This is not however the case. The coat of mail, a very rare object in Teutonic graves,[1] may be of Roman origin though at times of Germanic make, while the helmet, almost equally scarce, is in its conical form and its construction with ribs and filling quite un-Roman, and probably comes from the East by way of southern Russia. There is an example shown in fig. 117 on Plate XXX. The Teutonic axe was used for throwing, an art the legionaries did not practise. The most characteristic of all the Germanic weapons, the short, broad, heavy, one-edged sword called scramasax, has no prototype among Roman weapons, and, though it was preceded by an early Iron age type, is essentially Germanic. The general aspect of a fully armed Teutonic warrior can be judged

[1] The statements in the text are based on archæological evidence. From literary sources, *e.g.* from *Beowulf*, we should derive the impression that the coat of mail was fairly common.

from the ideal figure, coloured casts of which are published by the Germanic Museum at Mainz, a reproduction whereof will be found in fig. 37 on Plate X.

In connection with the noblest of all the weapons, the double-edged broadsword, this question of Roman or Teuton at once confronts us. It is of rare occurrence in the graves of Teutonic warriors, and this fact at once differentiates it from the Roman sword which was carried by every legionary. With the Teuton it was evidently the weapon of the chief, and this explanation of its rarity is better than the theory that makes it exclusively the arm of the mounted warrior.

This sword, called by the Latinized-Greek word "spatha," was not, as Lindenschmit suggested, an imitation of the Roman sword of the legionaries. It was not only much longer but was used for striking, not like the Roman short sword for the thrust, and it does not seem to have had such a serviceable hilt. The Teutonic spatha descends from the big ron broadsword carried by the Gauls of the La Tène period in their incursions into classical lands. An intermediate stage is represented by the great finds of sword blades, in the votive deposits of about the fourth or fifth century in the mosses of Nydam

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17. EARLY VIKING SWORD AT STOCKHOLM.
18. SPATHAS AT ST. GERMAIN.
19. SCRAMASAXES AT ST. GERMAIN.
20. SCRAMASAXES AT NUREMBERG.

and Thorsberg in Schleswig. The spatha of the migrations is itself the progenitor of the Viking sword of the ninth and tenth centuries, that made itself a terror in all the western world, and a fine early specimen of which at Stockholm is shown in fig. 17. In these Viking swords we get for the first time in the history of the weapon in the north an effective guard. From the Viking sword again was descended the straight cross-hilted sword of crusading days. Fig. 18 shows a number of spathas of Frankish and Burgundian origin in the Museum at St. Germain. The longest of these blades measures two feet six inches, but this length is sometimes exceeded. The spatha, always rare, is distributed fairly evenly over the cemeteries of the different peoples.

The Teutonic warrior of the superior class resembled the legionary in carrying two hand-weapons, but whereas with the Roman these were short sword and dagger, the former bore besides his spatha a specially Germanic arm, which, at its best and largest, was a very heavy, single-edged, straight-bladed cutlass, broad and thick at the back that curved forward at the top to meet the cutting edge at a point. Along the blade near the back there almost always ran two or three longitudinal grooves. It might be of a total length of two feet to two feet six inches,

with a breadth of two to two and three-quarter inches at the hilt, where the back was as much as nearly half-an-inch thick. In a passage in Gregory of Tours weapons of this kind are termed "cultri validi, quos vulgo scramasaxos vocant," and the name "scramasax," one of uncertain derivation, is always applied to them. It is a great peculiarity of the scramasax that its handle is often of abnormal length and furnishes a plain indication that it was wielded with both hands. When the blade was of substantial length and also very heavy it became a most formidable weapon when thus wielded, and Ammianus Marcellinus gives an idea of the ghastly blows which it would deal. It is curious however to find these long handles sometimes attached to blades of very circumscribed dimensions, while the longer scramasaxes have often short hilts. There was apparently no guard, and a knob beaten up at the end of the tang served to fix the grip, which like that of the spatha was of wood or bone. The weapons agreed also in possessing sheaths that were generally of wood, covered perhaps with hide, and the scramasax sheath was adorned with a series of studs.

The history of the weapon is obscure, and explorers of Frankish cemeteries in Belgium and

north-eastern France report that at the time of the Frankish conquest, in the fifth century, it was not employed, but that it came into fashion later on, about the middle of the sixth century, and remained in common use till the Carolingian period. A weapon of a similar kind was however found in the grave of Childeric of 481 A.D.

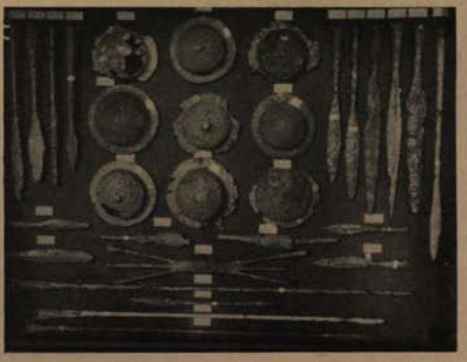
The fact that the name "culter," "knife," is applied to it may give a key to its history. The knife is the most common of all implements in Germanic graves, both of men and women, and the knife is nearly always in form a small scramasax. Indeed the one runs into the other through a series of intermediate sizes, and we may conjecture that the scramasax was really developed from the earlier domestic implement. It is not however so general in its distribution as the knife, and belongs more especially to the Franks, the Alemanni and the Burgundians. It is found also among the Lombards and occasionally in Britain. Fig. 19 shows a set at St. Germain which illustrates the variety in size, and the shading off of the short sword into the knife. Fig. 20 gives some at Nürenberg still in their sheaths. The longest measures thirty-one inches.

The normal weapon of the Teutonic man-at-arms

was the spear. Spear heads are of all forms of arm the most abundant in the Teutonic cemeteries, and while they take many different shapes they are not on the whole so beautiful in their lines as the earlier spear heads of the bronze epoch. Lindenschmit remarks that even in a single Germanic cemetery it is hard to find two lance heads alike. Tacitus tells us that the Germans called the spear *framea* and that it was narrow in the blade and very sharp, equally suitable for hurling as a javelin or for hand to hand combat. Such narrow blades may be illustrated from the large collection at St. Germain (fig. 21), but the most interesting example is that found in the tomb of Childeric and shown in fig. 22. Another type has a broader leaf-shaped blade, and a beautiful example of this in the Museum at Stuttgart, of Alemannic origin, is ornamented with geometrical designs in silver, by a technique that will afterwards be noticed (fig. 23).

The spear heads are all supplied with hollow sockets to receive the head of the shaft, but there is this curious difference that among some peoples, such as the Anglo-Saxons and the Franks, the socket is open on one side while elsewhere it was closed. As regards the staves, the fact that spears were placed by the side of the warrior in his grave seems to show

PLATE VI



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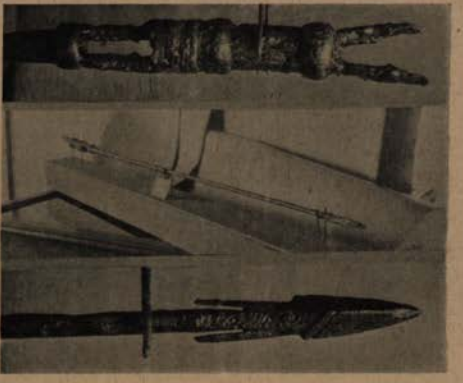

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21. SPEARS, SHIELD BOSSES, ETC., AT ST. GERMAIN.

22. SPEAR AND AXE OF CHILDERIC.

23. ALEMANNIC LANCE-HEAD.

24. ANGON AT BRUSSELS.

that their total length cannot have been greater than that of a tall man. At the butt end they were sometimes shod with an iron cap, itself pointed or carrying a projecting spike.

Something must be said about a special type of Teutonic spear, the so-called "angon." This is described to us in an often-quoted passage in the Byzantine historian Agathias as something peculiar to the Franks. In reality, it was not specially Frankish nor even Germanic, but an imitation of a well-known weapon of the Romans, the historic *pilum*. The Roman *pilum* was a spear of which not only the head but the shaft, to a length of three or four feet, was of iron. The shaft ended in a socket generally square in section into which was inserted a wooden shaft. The whole formed a heavy javelin of some eight or nine feet in length and when hurled by the practised hand of the legionary was of formidable penetrating power. When it was fixed firmly in an enemy's shield, it dragged this down by its weight, and left the bearer exposed. The fact that the shaft was of iron rendered it impossible to hew off the head and so relieve the shield.

The angon, as described by Agathias, and as represented by extant examples found in Germanic tombs, was in all essentials the Roman *pilum*, with

the addition that the angon had a barbed point instead of a plain one. This prevented the contingency of its dropping out after it had effected an entrance into the object aimed at, and added to its efficiency. Literary notices teach us that a cord was sometimes attached to the angon, at any rate in the case of a single combat, and this is of interest as we can see in the modern harpoon as used for whale fishing a survival of this old Germanic weapon.

The angon is rare in tombs and is chiefly found in those of the Franks. Lindenschmit in 1880 reckoned up thirty-five specimens in various museums. One or two have been found in our own country. The best preserved specimen is in the museum at Brussels, and is given, with details of head and butt, in fig. 24. It measures in length three feet six inches, the point with its barbs three inches. There are some angons also in fig. 21.

An important place among the missile weapons of the Germans is taken by the axe. This is a very characteristic product of the northern armourer's industry. It has, like so many other pieces of the Teutonic armament, its distinctive name. This name "Francisca" seems to connect it specially with the Franks, but it is found in the cemeteries of practically all the other peoples. There are several

types, but the type which has the best right to the name Francisca is that represented by the war-axe the blade of which was found in the tomb of the Frankish king Childeric (fig. 22). This is seven and three-quarters inches long from butt to edge, and the cutting edge itself is four inches broad. The peculiarity of the head is that when hafted the axial line along the middle of the blade from butt to edge is not at right angles to the haft, but runs down towards it at an acute angle, so that the head points upwards. This setting of the head was of advantage when the axe was used as a missile, as was the case in Frankish warfare. Axes of this form are met with in almost all regions, but they are never abundant save in Belgium and northern France and on the Rhine, the motherland of the Franks.

The special form of the Francisca with its tilt upwards is well shown in a number of specimens at St. Germain from north-eastern France shown in fig. 25. In the same case are represented some of the other types already referred to. An axe with a broad cutting edge is to be noted. It is set at right angles to the handle, and has at times at the back a hammer. This feature, and the fact that the broad blade seems suitable for wood cutting, gives this axe the appearance of a tool rather than

a weapon of war. Probably it had both destinations, as if it had been simply an implement it could hardly have been included in the tomb furniture. This form of axe is sometimes called specially Anglo-Saxon, but there seems small ground for this.

The Germans were familiar with the use of the bow, and in view of this fact the rarity in the graves of arrow heads is somewhat surprising. The absence of traces of the perishable bow and quiver is not so remarkable, but occasional symptoms of these have been noticed.

Of defensive weapons the only one in common use was the shield, for it has been already noticed that the coat of mail and the helmet are very rare, while there is only some slight literary evidence that greaves or other minor pieces of body armour were part of the Teutonic equipment.

In the case of the rank-and-file, who were not only devoid of defensive armour but lacked even the protection of thick felt-like clothing, the shield was of the utmost importance, and we should expect to find traces of it wherever arms of any kind appeared in a grave. It is however almost invariably represented where it occurs only by its iron mounts, while the orb of the shield itself which was of wood has generally disappeared. These iron

mounts would probably belong only to the members of the *corps d'élite*, many of whom carried also the two-edged swords, and the shields of the common soldiers would be of wood only, or even of rougher make, for in the case of a battle between the Goths and Gepidæ in 488 A.D., we learn that the former carried shields of wicker-work. The Franks who descended into Italy in 539 A.D. are described as all armed with shields, and the same is reported of an Alemannic host which Narses defeated at Capua at the close of the Gothic war.

The only fairly complete shields known are some that came to light in the mosses of Schleswig. One that is preserved in the museum at Copenhagen is shown in fig. 26. The round boss or "umbo" in the centre covers a hole in the wood across which is fastened the single handle by which the shield was held and manipulated. The hollow of the boss gives room for, and protection to, the knuckles. What is surprising about the Schleswig shields is their curious thinness, for the wood of the extant specimens is never so much as three-eighths of an inch in thickness. A covering of hide may be assumed, as we are told that the starving soldiers of a Frankish army in the sixth century were reduced to seek nutriment by gnawing the covers of their shields.

In the Germanic cemeteries in general all we find of the shield is the iron umbo; the handle, also of iron and extended out so as to get a good grip of the wood-work (fig. 27, see also specimens in fig. 21); and sundry studs and rivets. The form of the umbo varies, and the most common shape on the whole is that of the Frankish and Burgundian bosses shown in fig. 21, where a depressed hemisphere rising to a central stud is mounted on a rim concave in section. At the base the iron spreads out into a flat plate concentric with the raised part, through which rivets, sometimes with ornamental heads, fasten the iron to the wood. This form of umbo is fairly well distributed, but there is a speciality about those found in the graves of the Lombards in that the centre of the boss is ornamented, as may be seen in fig. 28. This is of Lombard style but not actually of Lombard provenance, as it was found in the Rhineland. Rarer forms of the umbo are conical, the sides of the cone being sometimes convex, sometimes concave, and sometimes straight. The sharp point of some of these cones suggests that they might have been used as weapons.

The diameter of the shields in the moss-finds from Schleswig varies from twenty-two to forty-

PLATE VII

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25. AXE-HEADS, ETC., AT ST. GERMAIN.
27. HANDLE OF SHIELD, NAMUR.
26. SHIELD AT COPENHAGEN.
28. ORNAMENTED SHIELD BOSS, MAINZ.

four inches. As we read more than once of soldiers crossing rivers on their shields, and learn also that a new chief was recognized by his followers by being raised upon a shield, we must assume that they were at times both large and strong. The heroic episode of the death in battle of the Ostrogothic King Teias certainly leaves us with this impression. The account of the incident, which is given in Dr. Hodgkin's picturesque rendering in his *Italy and her Invaders*, may almost be termed an epic of the shield. In the year 553, at the close of the tragic struggle of the ill-fated Goths against the forces of the Eastern Empire, the last King Teias stood with a little band of followers in front of the Gothic ranks, and performed in the judgment of the Greek historian Procopius "deeds worthy of the old days of the heroes." Covering his body with his broad Gothic shield he made a sudden rush, now here, now there, and transfixed with his spear many of his foes. Vainly meanwhile were the Roman lances thrust at him, and the Roman arrows did but bury themselves in his mighty buckler. When this, being full of arrows, became too heavy for his arm, an armour-bearer, deftly interposing a new shield, relieved him of the old one.

A third of the day had worn away in this strife

of heroes, and now was the buckler of Teias heavy with the weight of twelve hostile darts suspended from it. Without flinching by a finger's-breadth from his post in the forefront of the battle, and standing like one rooted to the ground, the king, still dealing death around him, called eagerly to his squire for another shield. He came, he removed the dart-laden shield and strove to interpose a fresh one, but in the moment of the exchange a javelin pierced the breast of Teias, and he fell mortally wounded to the ground.

CHAPTER VII

PARURE AND PERSONAL BELONGINGS OF GERMANIC LADIES

Dress fastenings; the fibula in its different forms, with a glance at its development; the buckle, etc. Personal ornaments: diadem; hair-pin; necklet, especially of glass beads; arm and finger ring; ear pendant. Personal belongings; pouch and châtelaine and their appendages.

If the mouldering arms in the graves of Teutonic warriors recall to us deeds of romantic prowess, such as that just recorded, so too the jewels and necklets and keys and châtelaines with which we have now to deal remind us of those warriors' fair-haired consorts and daughters, of whose beauty, sometimes of whose turbulence, the annals of the time are eloquent. There was a Frankish maiden, Eudoxia, whose radiant loveliness won the heart of the Emperor Arcadius, in whose palace she ruled supreme as Empress for a decade. Of the young Teutonic heroine, viewed rather from the physical

than the moral side, we gain a brilliant impression from the verses of Charles the Great's court poet, in which he describes that monarch's six fair daughters riding in his train at a hunting party. It is not a genuine record, for the showy lasses are far too finely dressed for the chase, but we have a portrait, inspired by the poet's personal affection, of the princess Bertha, surrounded by a *comitatus* of girl friends, Bertha, whose voice, whose manly courage, whose quick-glancing eye and expressive features recalled the image of her father; a portrait too of Hrotrud, who should have been Empress of the East; and of the other half-sisters, with their yellow hair and their proud looks.

Of all the objects of personal adornment with which the Teutonic beauty enhanced her charms, that on which the craftsman lavished most pains and employed the finest materials was the fibula or brooch, and next to the brooch in sumptuousness came the buckle. Both brooch and buckle were worn by men as well as by women, but for the sake of convenience the objects are dealt with in this place in all their typical forms independently of the sex of the wearers. Indeed the different kinds of fibulæ seem to have been used indifferently by either sex, though, as was pointed out on an earlier page

(*ante*, p. 50), the women more often wore their brooches in pairs. In the case of the buckles, there is a certain type of them, found in Frankish and Burgundian graves, that is remarkable for extraordinary size and weight, and M. Pilloy assures us that he has found these heavy iron attachments for the belt in the graves of women.

Though the fibula and the buckle have been mentioned together and are artistically associated, yet from the historical point of view there is a great difference between them. When the Teutonic peoples appeared upon the scene, the fibula had already behind it a history extending over more than a thousand years, and had passed through a long series of typological changes, developing in the process a great variety of local forms. The buckle on the other hand only seems to have come into use in imperial Roman times, and appears at Pompeii, for example, in the simplest possible shapes. Some archæologists have held that the buckle was independently invented in northern Europe at the beginning of the migration period, but whether this was the case, or whether the Germans took it over from the Romans, they began with it in a comparatively undeveloped form, while the fibula, when it first came into their hands, was already a much cul-

tivated product. Into the pre-Germanic history of the fibula it will be impossible to enter, and it must suffice to indicate the chief forms it assumed immediately before and during the period with which we are actually concerned. Of the buckle, which has no pre-Germanic history, the account can be made more complete.

The almost innumerable varieties of the brooch in the ancient and early medieval world may be conveniently classed as belonging to three principal types, that may be termed the ring type, the plate type, and the safety-pin type. The first is not necessarily the earliest nor the most important, but it may be put forward to the front because it happens that it is essentially the same as the simplest form of the buckle, and according to one view it is here that the buckle actually found its origin. In the ring brooch and the simple buckle, the piece of stuff or the band which it is desired to fix is passed through a metal ring and then pierced, skewer fashion, by a pin longer than the diameter of the ring, so that it cannot be pulled through back again till the pin is withdrawn. If the pin be hinged on the ring it will always be ready for use. When the ring is not quite closed and the hinged pin can travel freely round it, we have the convenient and

PLATE VIII

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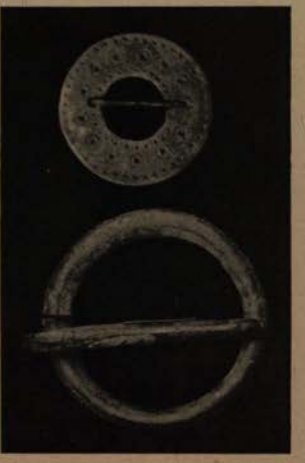

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29. PENANNULAR BROOCH, ROCHESTER MUSEUM.

30. ANNULAR BROOCHES, (ABOVE) LIVERPOOL, (BELOW) CANTERBURY.

31. ANNULAR BROOCHES, MAIDSTONE.

32. SIMPLEST FORMS OF BUCKLES, LIVERPOOL.

PLATE IX

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33. JUSTINIAN, FROM THE MOSAIC AT RAVENNA.

34. THEODORA, FROM THE MOSAIC AT RAVENNA.

35. "ROMA," CARVED IVORY AT VIENNA.

36. ROMAN EMPEROR, CARVED IVORY, VIENNA.

familiar penannular brooch, which is occasionally found in Teutonic graves especially in our own country, but in Scandinavia in the Viking period, and in the Celtic area of the British Islands, becomes very abundant. The closed ring brooch, essentially the same as the simple buckle such as is used for the modern strap, save that the latter is oval or square rather than circular, is also known in the graves of our forefathers, and with it is found another form in which the ring has become a flat annular plate. Fig. 29 shows a penannular and figs. 30 and 31 annular brooches of the two kinds, and with the latter may be compared fig. 32, giving the simplest form of the buckle and also the beginning of its development which we shall presently have to follow.

The above forms are on the whole rare and unimportant in Teutonic grave inventories, and were only occasionally used in provincial Roman art. The second type on the other hand, that of the plate brooch, is a very familiar classical product, and was also greatly used by certain branches of the Teutonic stock, notably the Franks, the Jutes and the English Saxons. In this form of brooch all that is seen is a plate of some kind, that may have any sort of shape and enrichment, while underneath

this a pin is hinged and adjusted to a catch so as to hold firmly any stuff through which it is passed. Brooches of this kind must have been in familiar use among the Greeks, for many Greek ladies would wear them, and youths certainly fastened in the same way their military cloak or chlamys. We can only judge of their form and character from representations in sculpture and painting, for it is a curious fact that very few actual examples have ever come to light. The Romans also made great use of fastenings of the kind, especially for the military cloak, and the famous mosaic picture of the Emperor Justinian at Ravenna (fig. 33) shows him wearing one. It is worthy of notice also that Justinian's consort Theodora in the companion mosaic (fig. 34) wears two such brooches, one on each shoulder, and we are reminded of the similar uses of the fibula evidenced in Teutonic graves (*ante*, p. 50). It will be noticed that from these round brooches there hang in each case pendants. These seem to have been common attachments to brooches of a sumptuous kind, and we see them falling from a fibula of another form, presently to be noticed, on a carved ivory figure of the period representing "Roma" in the Museum at Vienna (fig. 35). These pendants have in some cases survived, as in that of the fibula from Petrossa shown

PLATE X

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37. FRANKISH WARRIOR IN FULL PANOPLY.

38. ROUND BROOCH FROM SZILAGY SOMLYO, HUNGARY.

39. ROUND BROOCH, BRUSSELS.

40. ROUND BROOCH, FOLKESTONE, KENT.

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41. "SAUCER" AND "APPLIED" BROOCHES FROM KEMPSTON, BEDS.

42. GOLD BROOCH OF VIKING PERIOD, COPENHAGEN.

43. PEWTER BROOCH IN GUILDHALL MUSEUM, LONDON.

44. "BIRD" AND OTHER FIBULÆ AT BOULOGNE.

on the frontispiece, and in that of a beautiful jewel in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris given in fig. 94 on Plate XXIV. Fig. 36, an ivory carving at Vienna showing a Roman emperor of our period, has been added as evidence of the extraordinary love for a sumptuous display of jewels which in this epoch was common to Roman and to Teuton. It may be noted that this form of fastening proved so convenient that it has remained in use ever since, and is the familiar brooch worn by every modern woman.

It was doubtless from the Romans that our Teutonic forefathers adopted the fashion, but when the form was established in use it was made in its shape, material, and ornamentation to wear a thoroughly Germanic aspect. Some of the most beautiful extant examples of the craftsmanship of the period are to be seen in objects of the kind, the finest of which are of Anglo-Saxon origin. Some of the noblest specimens, such as the far-famed "Kingston" brooch, now at Liverpool, were found in the graves of women. Some characteristic examples are brought together in figs. 38 to 40.

Another form of the plate brooch, found in the graves both of men and women, is the so-called "saucer" fibula, a speciality of the English Saxons, but occurring also in northern France. As may

be seen in the set shown in fig. 41, some are made all in one piece, and gilded on the face, while others, called "applied" brooches, are put together with a foundation of bronze, a thin enriched plate of gold or silver gilt laid over this, and a raised rim soldered on to give the saucer appearance. Fig. 42, a round brooch of gold, which once had a stone set in the centre, in the Museum at Copenhagen, gives an example of the fine gold work executed in the North during the Viking period. A round pewter brooch in the Guildhall Museum, London, an inch and three quarters in diameter, also of a late period, is worth recording as the use of this material is rare in the period (fig. 43).

Fanciful shapes are adopted at times instead of the circular one, and a favourite pattern, probably Gothic in its origin, is that of a bird, in aspect sometimes resembling a parrot, though as a rule dignified by the name of a falcon or eagle. Such brooches are fairly common in the Teutonic cemeteries; they are mostly quite small, like the two shown at the right-hand side of fig. 44, but a few are very handsome, the finest being to all appearance of Gothic manufacture. One found near Ravenna is preserved in the Germanic Museum at Nuremberg, and is shown in fig. 45. The Cluny Museum at Paris boasts

PLATE XII

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45. GOTHIC EAGLE FIBULA FROM RAVENNA.

47. FIBULA WITH LION, BUDA-FEST.

46. FIBULÆ FROM SZILAGY SOMLYO.

48. FIBULÆ FROM JOUY LE COMTE, AT ST. GERMAIN.

PLATE XIII

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49. LA TÈNE FIBULA AT INNSBRUCK.

50. ROMAN "CROSS-BOW" FIBULA AT TRIESTE.

51. SHEET-SILVER FIBULÆ FROM KERCH, AT BERLIN.

52. GROUP OF ROMAN FIBULÆ AT MAINZ.

one that was found at Valence d'Agen in the Visigothic district of Toulouse, and a counterpart to this is in the Archæological Museum at Madrid, and was discovered in the once Visigothic district between Saragossa and Madrid.

The fibula of the third or "safety-pin" type has been made the subject of more archæological studies than any similar object, and it is not a little remarkable that after an existence, if not a continuous history, of some three thousand years, it has been revived in quite modern times in the very form in which it made its first appearance in the antique Mediterranean world. If we look over a heap of the common safety-pins of modern commerce we shall soon find one that consists of nothing but a single length of wire that can be straightened out till it is again what it was at first, a long pin with a point but with no head. Such a pin was the substitute in the earliest age of metal for the neolithic pin of bone or the still more primitive thorn, with which Tacitus tells us the Germans of the Hinterland fastened their clothing. To prevent such a pin from slipping out, the device of bending or doubling the upper part of it over and giving it a catch round the point where it projected through the stuff would naturally present itself, and such

a catch could be undone when the pin was to be withdrawn, and remain as a sort of loop to catch the point again when it was reinserted. A recognition of the properties of hammered metal wire would suggest giving a spiral turn to the shank of the pin instead of a simple bend where it was doubled over, and this would secure elasticity and keep the catch always pressed against the pin just above the point. A glance at the simplest procurable modern safety-pin will make this clear.

This is the starting-point of fibula development. It is usual to call the half of the original pin, that is doubled over and shows above the stuff, the *bow*, because, if it be in some degree arched, it gives room for the bunch of stuff beneath it. The part where the bend or the spiral turn comes is called the *head*, and the point and the catch come together at the *foot*. Alike in its bow, its head, and its foot, the early fibula passes through many modifications, that have been worked out from the typological point of view by writers such as Tischler, Hildebrand, Montelius, and Almgren. All we have to deal with here are those changes which occurred just before or during the migration period, that is to say from about the beginning of the fourth century A.D. onwards. From the present point of view

the changes effected in the *head* are of the most importance. An epoch-making innovation had been introduced in the La Tène period before the Christian era, according to which the turns in the spiral were multiplied and were made to correspond in number and therefore in lateral projection on the two sides of the shank. Fig. 49 shows a fine example in the Museum at Innsbruck. In the third century A.D. the spirals were so multiplied as to project like the cross stroke of a T, and then they needed a central axis, which had to be finished at each end with a knob to prevent it from coming out, or the coils from slipping over the end of it. Constructive reasons also led to the use of a third knob in the centre of the coils in a line with the bow. In the fourth century the provincial Romans, with practical good sense, dropped the spiral coils and hinged a pin at the back of the head like that of a modern brooch, while for decorative reasons they preserved the T form and the three knobs.

In this way was produced the familiar late-Roman "cross-bow" fibula, that is of not uncommon occurrence in Germanic as well as Roman graves. Fine examples in gold have come to light in the former, and one, now lost, was in the tomb of Childeric the Frank (*ante*, p. 30). Fig 50 shows an example at

Trieste. This plan of dispensing with the spiral did not however commend itself to the Teutonic craftsmen who were at the same epoch feeling their way towards those modifications of the fibula which gave it later on its distinctively German character. They not only retained the spirals but made two or even three rows of them, and as these were genuine spirals all connected together and coiled out of the same length of wire they naturally needed a sort of framework for their support, the projecting parts of which came to be furnished in their turn with knobs. No sooner however was this complicated apparatus evolved than it occurred to other craftsmen that it should be hidden, and this idea led to the development of covering plates, behind which the spiral coils were concealed, though the projecting knobs were allowed to peep out beyond the edges of the plate. For constructive reasons which need not be detailed this plate took sometimes a semicircular, sometimes a square form, and this difference assumes ethnological importance when it is observed that as a rule the square head belongs to the north of Europe and also to the north of England, while the semicircular one is rather South German in its affinities. Modifications in the region of the foot were at the same time, or at an earlier time, in progress, but these,

though a great deal has been written about them, are not so important artistically as the changes in the head.

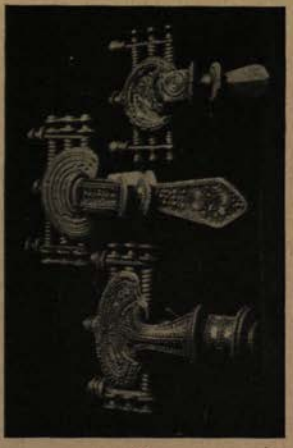
A change in technique accompanies the change in form and arrangement. The earlier fibulæ, up to and including the characteristic fourth-century Roman "cross-bow" form, though they might be cast in moulds, still kept a bar shape which recalled the fact that the piece had once been twisted up out of a single length of wire. Now, in the same fourth century, a complete change is made, and the whole piece, or the parts of it, in the form that has been arrived at for the head and foot, is cut out in sheet silver, the bow being suitably strengthened or added in another piece, and the mechanism of pin, hinge, catch, etc., being attached to the under side (fig. 51). Later on the whole piece is reproduced in a more massive form by casting, the spirals finally disappear and are replaced by a hinge, and to all intents and purposes we have before us a plate fibula of a special shape, that recalls however, in its bow, foot, head and projecting knobs, the remarkable history through which it has passed.

The various types of these matured cast fibulæ of the Teutonic period, their relations in point of time, and their distribution among the different sections

of the name, are subject for a volume, and nothing can be attempted here except the presentation of a few prominent types, which will at any rate give an idea of the wealth of material yielded up by the countless Teutonic cemeteries scattered over the length and breadth of Europe.

Figs. 49 to 54 illustrate the sketch of the probable development of the Teutonic fibula which has just been given. Fig. 52 shows a group of Roman bronze fibulæ at Mainz, in which can be discerned embryo forms that were afterwards to be worked out into the extended spirals, the knobs, the T shape, the variously shaped plates covering the springs, that appear later on in the more pronounced "cross-bow," round-headed, and square-headed fibulæ already noticed. The multiplication of the spiral coils, and the corresponding development of the framework finished everywhere with projecting knobs, is well shown in the famous early Germanic fibulæ from Sackrau in the Museum at Breslau. The three rows of spirals are quite exceptional. The back view of the one with two rows is instructive (figs. 53 and 54). It will be seen that by this time the foot has become a more or less kite-shaped plate with the catch soldered on underneath. The sudden change to the fibula cut out in a sheet of metal, with a head that

PLATE XIV



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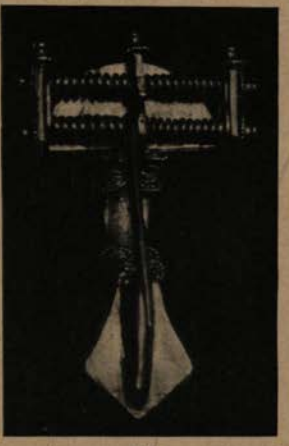

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53. TRIPLE-COILED FIBULÆ FROM SACKRAU.

54. BACK VIEW OF DOUBLE-COILED FIBULA FROM SACKRAU.

55. RUNIC FIBULA FROM CHARNAY (BURGUNDIAN) AT ST. GERMAIN.

56. BACK OF CHARNAY FIBULA, WITH RUNES, AT ST. GERMAIN.

conceals all the mechanism but the knobs, has been illustrated in fig. 51. These fibulæ, in the Ethnological Museum at Berlin, come from Kertch in southern Russia, the region to which the eyes of all investigators into the antiquities of the migration period are at present directed. Early examples of the cast fibula of the matured type are those in the second hoard from Szilagy Somlyo in Hungary (*ante*, p. 28) dating probably from the Visigothic period at the latter part of the fourth century, or as Hampel believes from the fifth. There are some (fig. 46) in which the head shows a step-like outline, and these may be regarded as preparing the way for the regular square headed fibula so common in Scandinavia and in our own country. Figs. 47 and 48 and 55 to 60 exhibit some specimens of the round and square headed fibulæ from different localities and periods, as well as some less normal forms. That from Trento in the Tyrol with the projecting arms is a local form almost confined to the vicinity, and is of Lombard date and provenance. The specimens from Kiev in south-western Russia are quite abnormal, and may represent the distinctive style of some of the Teutonic tribes whose art has not yet come to be known. It will be noticed that in the case of some of the fibulæ shown

on this Plate XV there is no proper head and foot, but the parts on each side of the bow correspond.

The development of the buckle is as we have seen a much simpler affair than that of the brooch. The illustration fig. 32, on Plate VIII, shows the first step in this, when instead of the band being fastened round the metal ring, as in the case of the modern strap, a metal plate is bent round the ring and the two faces of the plate embrace between them the end of the band, rivets passing through the three holding all firm. That the upper surface of the front plate should be ornamented follows as a matter of course, and in fact the enrichment here becomes only less sumptuous and varied than on the fibula itself. The piece is however more a thing of use than the brooch, in that as the fastening of the belt it has to be strong to bear what might sometimes be a powerful strain, and it is generally of heavier make. Whereas the finest fibulæ are of gold or silver gilt and those of lesser worth of silver or of cast bronze, the usual materials for the buckle are bronze and iron, though the golden buckle, generally on a small scale, is not infrequent. The bronze or iron plate of the buckle grows to a great size and assumes different shapes, but the handsome look of the whole piece is greatly increased by the addition

PLATE XV

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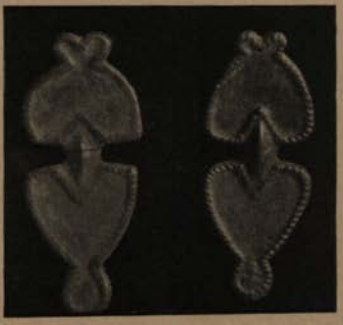

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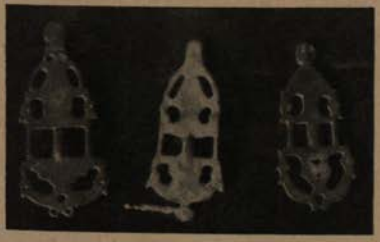

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57. FIBULÆ FROM TRENTO.
59. FIBULÆ FROM KIEV.

58. FIBULÆ FROM KIEV, RUSSIA.
60. FIBULA FROM KEMPSTON, BEDS.

on the other side of the buckle ring of a second plate corresponding in size and shape. This was riveted on to the belt quite independently of the buckle, but in such a position that when the free end of the belt was passed through the buckle ring and drawn up tight, the complementary plate would come close up to the latter. Indeed, as will be seen by a glance at fig. 63, the edge of the plate is indented, so as to allow the end of the tongue of the buckle that projects beyond the ring to fit into it. It is rather puzzling to see how this arrangement would work in practice, as it precludes any temporary adjustment of the fastening of the belt with a view to loosening or tightening it. The lady could never have taken in her waistband when she smartened herself up to receive callers, nor could her lord have let his out a hole or two after one of those huge meals, which the more delicately bred Roman provincials like Sidonius Apollinaris could not stomach.

With the buckle proper and its own plate and the complementary one is sometimes found a square plaque of the same material and pattern. This seems to have been fastened at the back of the belt. The material of the belt itself may have been leather or folded linen.

The most remarkable feature about these Teu-

tonic buckles is the enormous size and weight of the iron ones which have been found in Frankish and Burgundian graves. The largest which the writer has actually measured is one found in a Frankish cemetery near the church of St Germain des Près in Paris, and now preserved at the Musée Carnavalet. It is fifteen inches long, the breadth, vertically, of the buckle ring is four and a quarter inches and that of the plate attached to the ring three and a half. The tongue is seven-eighths of an inch thick. The thickness of the iron plate, so far as can be ascertained in its corroded state, is rather more than three-eighths of an inch. A fine Burgundian buckle from Fétigny in the Museum at Fribourg in Switzerland shown in fig. 63 is fifteen inches long over all and three and a half inches wide at the broadest part of the plate.

Of the buckles illustrated, figs. 61 and 62 are Gothic pieces from Kiev and Odessa respectively, the bird's head on fig. 62 being especially Gothic. Fig. 63 is the large iron buckle at Fribourg noticed in the text, and fig. 64 shows bronze buckles at Boulogne of Frankish provenance. The complete specimen was found in a woman's grave. The fine golden buckle set with garnets at Stuttgart (fig. 65) is so like the still finer piece from Apahida in

PLATE XVI

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61. GOTHIC BUCKLE AT KIEV.
62. GOTHIC BUCKLE AT ODESSA.
63. LARGE IRON BUCKLE AT FRIBOURG.
64. BRONZE BUCKLES AT BOULOGNE.

Hungary that it is probably like that of Gothic origin.

Besides the big buckle that fastened the belt, many smaller buckles were used for the purpose of attaching objects such as the sword or a pouch or sporran to the belt, and also for fastening off the ends of the crossed garters or the straps of the shoes. To facilitate the passing of the free end of the belt or strap through the ring of the buckle it was customary to arm it with a metal plate or tang, and these pieces, as a rule tastefully ornamented, have come to light in great numbers. See fig. 66, which shows a golden tang set with garnets at Mainz, of Frankish or Alemannic provenance, and fig. 68, where we see three characteristic bronze strap ends in a provincial museum in Hungary.

Ornaments of metal in the form of studs or appliques were often applied to parts of the attire, and the most interesting are the golden crosses which are a speciality of the Lombards. They are cut out of thin gold plates and have holes in their edges by which they were sewn on to garments, perhaps for sepulchral purposes. See fig. 67.

The ornaments of the person were varied and often highly artistic. A fine golden diadem for the head set with garnets has recently been added to

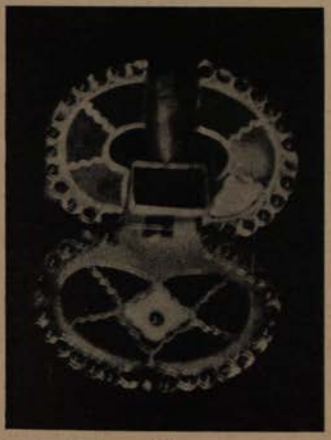
the Berlin Museum of Ethnology from southern Russia. It is however unpublished and cannot be figured in this place. Long pins for the hair, or, as has been suggested, for fastening an outer cloak, have ornamental heads, sometimes figuring birds.

The rings for the neck, the arm, and the finger take many forms. A gold circlet set with garnets formed a part of the early Sackrau treasure already noticed and is shown in fig. 69. A collection of neck and arm rings of Scandinavian origin in the Museum at Stockholm is given in fig. 70. Fig. 71 shows a finger ring of gold with an incised design still encircling the bone of the finger that wore it. It is at Fribourg and was found in 1908 at Lussy near Romont.

Of all personal ornaments apart from dress fastenings the most popular were the strings of variegated glass beads which are the almost constant accompaniment of the richer female interments.

These beads, a set of which is given in fig. 109, on Plate XXVIII, are a theme by themselves and have never yet been the subject of a really searching investigation. They are widely dispersed, but were perhaps specially favoured by the peoples along the Rhine and by the Teutonic conquerors of our own island. In the recently excavated cemetery at Ips-

PLATE XVII



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65. GOLD BUCKLE AT STUTTGART.

66. TONGUE OF STRAP, MAINZ.

67. GOLD CROSS OF LOMBARD CHARACTER.

68. BUCKLE TONGUES, ALTENBURG, HUNGARY.

wich, in 115 graves 32 bead necklaces were found, the largest containing 108 beads. They are however not of Teutonic manufacture but were certainly imported products, and they do not belong specially to our period, for they were popular in Roman circles and equally beloved in the earlier Celtic period. Their place of origin is not definitely known, but Dr. Kisa in his recent work on *Glass in Antiquity* is inclined to seek it at Alexandria. Though he admits that beads of the kind were made by the Romans, even in Britain, he states it as his conviction that "these ornaments, equally beloved by the barbarians of the north and by the negroes of the east and west coasts of Africa, in the vast majority of cases were exported from the great emporium of world industry Alexandria."

Dr. Evans and others have suggested that they might have been made in Palestine or Syria, and in any case Syrian merchants may have been active in the traffic through which they were diffused over the western world. The beads are of many different sizes, shapes, and makes, the technique of the most elaborate being of the kind used in the Roman so-called *millefiori* glass that has been revived in more modern times at Venice. Beads of amber are very common, especially in our own country, and in

Kent the graves have yielded up many formed of amethyst.

With the necklet may be taken the pendant, which often formed its finish, as in the case of that shown in fig. 109. These small objects are very numerous and often, especially in our own country, of extreme delicacy and beauty. There is no particular object in attempting a classification, as the charm of pieces of the kind largely resides in their quaint individuality. The question how far they were worn as amulets or charms has been raised, and will meet us again in connection with the crystal balls, which some regard as pendants, though they would be rather heavy ones.

Ear pendants form a large and interesting class of ornamental objects, and in this form many exquisite examples of fine goldsmiths' work have been preserved to us. One particular kind is very widely diffused, and these pieces were probably like the beads exported from some one or two centres of manufacture. Such things are both portable and in a high degree attractive. The objects in question are called on the Continent "basket earrings" and consist in a tiny open-work cell of gold, within which some have imagined little tufts of scented wool enshrined, suspended by a circlet of gold wire from the

PLATE XVIII

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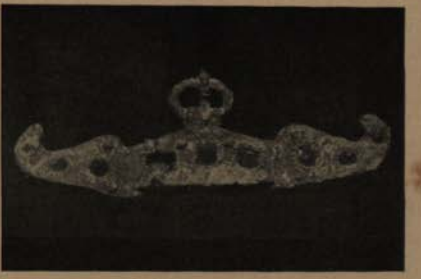

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69. NECK-RING IN TREASURE FROM SACKRAU, BRESLAU MUSEUM.

70. NECK AND ARM RINGS AT STOCKHOLM.

71. FINGER RING ON BONE OF FINGER AT FRIBOURG.

72. MOUNT OF POUCH FROM HERPES, FRANCE.

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73. CHÂTELAINES AT WORMS.
75. PIERCED DISC AT BONN.

74. PIERCED DISC FOR SUSPENSION, BASEL.
76. COMB, WITH CASE, AT BRUSSELS.

lobe of the ear. The flat cover of the little basket is often set with gems. Instead of this, hollow polyhedrons of gold jewelled in each facet are sometimes mounted and worn in similar fashion. A specially Hungarian type of ear pendant is of a pyramidal form built up largely of hollow spheres of gold.

It was the custom among both sexes to wear suspended from the belt a sort of pouch or sporran, in which small personal possessions were kept ready to the hand, and the ladies sometimes carried châtelaines to which might be attached keys, a knife, and other objects. Jewelled mounts of the pouch are occasionally found (see fig. 72), and a little heap of the contents sometimes shows where the pouch had lain. The châtelaine has been preserved in some good examples at Worms shown in fig. 73. Perforated discs of artistic patterns were suspended from the belt and objects of various kinds were evidently fastened to the discs. Some of these show obvious signs of wear caused by this. Fig. 74 gives a good example from Basel. A more perfect one, with the remains of a bone or ivory ring in which it was mounted, is at Bonn, and is shown in fig. 75.

In view of the long hair of Teutonic braves as well

as that of their spouses, and of the tendency of the former to the hirsute, the shears, the comb, and the tweezers for depilation were objects of importance and frequently occur in the tombs of both sexes. The shears are of the pattern used still for clipping sheep. The comb, in forms taken over from the Romans, is as a rule very common, though apparently rare in Burgundian quarters. It was made of bone or ivory but sometimes also of wood, and its absence in certain regions has been explained on the supposition that the more perishable material had there been in fashion. The combs are sometimes ornamented with carving but as a rule the enrichment consists in little more than incised circles. The best ones have a double row of teeth, and an ingenious casing is sometimes provided. The specimen at Brussels figured in fig. 76 is one of the most complete in existence.

Little bronze workboxes and caskets of other kinds sometimes occur, and are well represented in the Faussett collection at Liverpool. Very large beads of variegated glass, amber, or rock-crystal, have probably been used as spindle whorls.

PLATE XX

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77. CRYSTAL BALL FOUND IN THE GRAVE OF CHILDERIC.

78. KEYS IN MUSEUM OF COPENHAGEN, VIKING PERIOD.

79. FLINT AND STEEL FROM LUSSY, FRIBOURG.

80. IRON SPIT, MUSEUM AT WORMS.

CHAPTER VIII

SEPULCHRAL OBJECTS NOT IN PERSONAL USE

Coins, spoons, crystal balls, etc.; keys, strike-a-lights, etc. Vessels; sepulchral urns and other receptacles of clay, mounted wooden buckets, bronze bowls, vases of glass. Horse furniture.

A BRIEF chapter under the above heading may serve to complete the inventory of the more important classes of objects composing Teutonic tomb furniture.

The archæological importance of coins as helping to fix dates has already been noticed (*ante*, p. 27). They were used however very commonly as ornamental pendants, as illustrated in fig. 109, and for the same purpose were rudely copied in the form of the so-termed "bracteates." These bracteates, or barbarous imitations of Roman or Byzantine coins, are a speciality of the Scandinavian region and some specimens will be found figured in fig. 115, Plate XXIX. They occur also, much more rarely,

in our own country and in the continental cemeteries, but Dr. Bernard Salin insists that all bracteates are Scandinavian, or due to Scandinavian influence.

Among the most puzzling objects of a miscellaneous kind are the polished spheres of rock crystal, and the silver spoons that have the peculiarity that their bowls are perforated with holes like those of a sugar-sifter. They are mentioned here together for Mr. Reginald Smith thinks they are connected, as in Anglo-Saxon graves the crystal sphere has sometimes been found in the bowl of the spoon. The ascription of magical properties to balls of rock crystal may explain their appearance in tombs. It is difficult to see what special connection the perforated spoons may have had with them, and what the actual use of the spoon can have been. The most recent suggestion is due to that very sagacious archæologist, Dr. Posta, of Kolozsvar in Hungary, who thinks the holes may be merely decorative. The occurrence in some graves both at home and abroad of "Cypræa" shells that are supposed to have come from the Indian Ocean is an interesting fact as bearing upon early traffic, and these outland objects, like the crystal balls, may have been used as charms.

The crystal ball, fig. 77, about an inch and a half

in diameter, was found in the tomb of Childeric the Frank. Several have come to light in Kent.

Keys, and strike-a-lights or flint and steel, are domestic objects often found in tombs, and an interesting fact regarding the former came into view quite recently on the excavation of some Jutish graves on the down above Folkestone. The skeleton of a woman, now preserved in the Museum of that town, was found with the left hand holding a key, and the unique exhibit remains to testify to the housewifely instincts of the remote ancestresses of the women of modern Britain. A curious "unicum" exists in the Paulus Museum at Worms in the form of an iron roasting-spit four feet in length. Fig. 78 shows a collection of keys of the Viking period in the Museum at Copenhagen; fig. 79 a flint and steel found together at Lussy, Canton Fribourg; and fig. 80 the spit at Worms. We are reminded of what we are told of Charles the Great, that roasted game was brought in on spits at his daily meal.

The category of "Vessels" is an extensive one. These occur frequently in the materials bronze, glass, wood, and clay, and horns have also been found as at Taplow, Bucks. The sepulchral urn of burnt clay, rude as may be its fabric, deserves to take

pride of place, as preserving the last poor relics of many a mighty warrior and winsome dame. These cinerary urns, even when no ashes are actually contained in them, can generally be distinguished by their size from the smaller vessels of similar make placed with inhumated bodies and possibly containing, or perpetuating the idea of, actual food intended for the use of the defunct. There is a striking similarity between the cremation urns that occur in the Anglian districts of northern and eastern England and urns used for similar purposes in parts of the Continent opposite our own shores, and preserved in collections like those at Hanover and Leiden. Kemble drew attention to this long ago and the comparisons have lately been worked out by Dr. Krom. It is a peculiarity of a large number of these urns that the sides have been forced out in parts while the clay was wet so as to form bosses or flutes. They are hand-formed, about seven to ten inches high, and are commonly ornamented with incised lines or with simple geometrical patterns made by impressing small wooden stamps upon the wet clay. Those in which cremated bones were actually found are of course the most interesting. Fig. 81 shows a characteristic specimen from Shropham in Norfolk. It is ten inches high.

PLATE XXI

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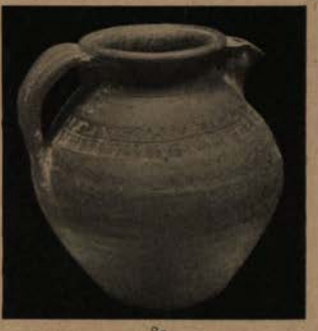

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81. CINERARY URN FROM SHROPHAM, NORFOLK, IN BRITISH MUSEUM.

82. JUG FROM HERPES, FRANCE.

83. POTS FROM CHARNAY (TALLER) AND NORTHERN FRANCE.

84. BRONZE VASE CONTAINING HAZEL NUTS, FROM KENT, IN BRITISH MUSEUM.

VESSELS OF CLAY, BRONZE, ETC.

The smaller non-cinerary urns, which may be termed food-vessels, are some four or five inches high and are ornamented in the same way as the larger ones. There are certain differences among those from divers regions, which in the case of the cemeteries of ancient Gaul M. Barrière-Flavy has tried to particularize, but the general family likeness among them all is far more conspicuous than are the distinctions. Some Frankish vessels found at Herpes and now in the British Museum are better made than those in our own country, see fig. 82. Of the two in fig. 83 the high one is Burgundian from Charnay, the smaller Frankish.

Cast bronze bowls are a Rhineland speciality, and one of the best single collections of them is that in the Paulus Museum at Worms. From this region they seem to have been imported into our own country, and similar specimens are found here, especially in Kentish graves. One of the finest extant examples, a tall vase on a stem, was found in the tumulus at Taplow and is now in the British Museum. The specimen from Kent, ten inches in diameter, shown in fig. 84, is specially interesting as it contains hazel-nuts, and thus gives substance to the surmise that the vessels generally contained offerings of food. This has been assumed also in the case of the wooden

buckets, with mountings of bronze and occasionally of iron, which are sometimes found accompanying interments. The fashion of these vessels was taken over from earlier Celtic times. Fig. 85 gives one of a rare character and singularly complete, in the museum at Rochester.

Among the most beautiful and interesting objects found in the tombs are the drinking cups and other vessels of glass. It has been conjectured on good grounds that they were in most cases manufactured in the Rhineland or in the valley of the Meuse, and exported thence to other regions. Excellent examples are found in the tombs of southern Britain, and the iridescence often gives them great charm of colour. A Rhineland vase, with the curious claw-shaped projections on which so much has been said, is given in fig. 86, and a similar one, but found in Kent, is seen in fig. 87. The drinking cups often have the "tumbler" form, in that they are rounded below and could not be set down while the liquor was still in them.

Even this very summary notice of the embarrassingly numerous items of Teutonic tomb furniture cannot be suffered to close without one word on the subject of horse trappings, which are occasionally met with in the graves. The burial of the horse

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85. BRONZE-MOUNTED BUCKET AT ROCHESTER.

86. GLASS VESSEL FROM THE RHINELAND.

87. GLASS VESSEL FROM KENT.

88. VIKING STIRRUP AND (EARLIER) FRANKISH SINGLE SPUR.

with his rider is, as we saw before, practised, but only sporadically, and the same applies to the deposition in the tomb of articles of equestrian use such as bits, parts of bridles, stirrups and spurs. The latter at first occur singly, the idea being that the single spur was worn on the left heel, so that the touch of it on the horse's flank might turn him to the right and thus keep the rider's left or shielded side directed towards the foe. Stirrups only seem to have come into use in the Viking period, and with them seems to have been introduced the normal modern fashion of the double spur. Fig. 88 shows a Viking stirrup in the British Museum and an earlier single spur of Frankish provenance in the Museum at Mainz.

CHAPTER IX

IS THE ART OF THE PERIOD ROMAN OR TEUTONIC?

The early history of the Teutonic area as bearing on this question. Riegl's *Late Roman Artistic Industry* analysed. General probabilities of the situation.

Importance of inlaid gold ornaments; their probable origin and history; their distribution in the Teutonic area.

THE previous chapters have been occupied for the most part with demonstration rather than with argument. It was necessary to present the archæological and historical facts that lie at the foundation of the subject, before these facts could be used as data for antiquarian discussion. In the second chapter and those from the sixth to the eighth, some idea was given of the different classes of objects, first from the churches, then from the treasure caches, and lastly from the cemeteries, which represent the art of the migration period, while in the fourth chapter an unavoidably tedious review of the migrations put us in possession of certain indispensable facts and

dates relating to the Germans themselves. Some indication was also given of the archæological questions of date and provenance which offer themselves for discussion when the antiquarian and historical facts are confronted. For only one archæological statement of a general kind has anything like finality been claimed. That is the statement that a common Germanic character attaches to the objects which form the subject matter of our study. All modern experts in this branch of investigation will probably agree to this, but to explain the reason of this common character is a very different matter.

There are two simple and plausible theories either of which would be satisfactory. There is the theory that the Germans themselves created these artistic forms and fashions while they still lived more or less united in northern Europe, and that each one of the peoples that hived off from the main swarm in the migration period carried with it to its new seats the common tradition. There is the theory on the other side that the Germans did practically nothing at all, but that the various branches of the name were supplied from big factories within the Roman empire. For reasons that will presently appear, neither of these contrasted theories can be accepted, and the truth of the matter will probably

be found to lie somewhere between the extremes thus indicated. The thesis of these chapters may for the sake of clearness be briefly stated in the following terms.

I. At no period were the Germans by tradition and genius so utterly devoid of æsthetic predilections that they had to depend for all their art upon the foreigner.

II. The particular period that preceded the migrations was not one in which Teutonic feeling in art manifested itself in any strength, and the independent creation in the north of the forms and fashions of the art in question was not then possible.[1]

III. The epoch of the migrations, involving as it did a great stirring of Teutonic life, rendered it possible for the native artistic feeling of the Germans to work upon the various elements, vernacular and foreign, existing in the world of the time, and to evolve from these the art of the Teutonic treasure deposits and cemeteries.

If the first of these statements be true, we are forbidden to believe that, as some archæologists

[1] For one thing, the most characteristic of these forms and fashions, the garnet inlays, could not possibly have been invented in the north of Europe in the pre-migration period.

assume, the Germans at the beginning of the migration period were in matters of culture and art purely receptive. Readers of the *Germania* of Tacitus are tempted to figure to themselves a gloomy Hinterland behind the semi-civilized zone along the Rhine, where the arts of life were unknown, and

"Where wild in woods the noble savage ran";

but Otto Tischler, an archæologist rather disposed to favour the Roman view, expressly warns his hearers against any such supposition. "We must be careful," he says, "not to rate too low the culture of the north German peoples in the first centuries of the Christian era. The tombs have shown that these northern tribes, which had fixed seats and practised agriculture, were much richer than those of the south and west, about whom the classical writers give us information. They possessed considerable wealth in ornaments and objects of use, and had certainly created a great part of these for themselves, while as time passed on they were prepared to imitate some of the objects imported from abroad." The truth is that not at this epoch alone, but for centuries or even millenniums previously, there was native industry and art among the Germans and among their forefathers, as well as importation from other regions of articles of use and ornament. In

these northern lands bordering on the North Sea and the Baltic, and bounded to the south and west by the chain of mountains that extends from the Harz to the Carpathians, the forerunners of the Germans of history passed from the neolithic stage of culture represented by the Danish kitchen-middens, through the earlier and the later Bronze ages, and into the age of Iron. There too the later scions of the race have lived through the fine artistic epoch of the Viking inroads, and through periods pleasantly marked by charming domestic products, down to the modern era of the Swedish razor and safety-match. These regions have always possessed an art and culture of their own, and there seems no reason why these should be denied to them at this particular epoch of the migrations. At each of the earlier eras just enumerated the people were responsible for those products of culture to the survival of which we are indebted for our knowledge of their social condition. The objects found in their graves, or in other places of deposit, are objects which they either made for themselves or acquired through barter at the price of some of their own indigenous products, of which the most important was amber. Many of these objects are of great, some of extraordinary, technical excellence, and

bear testimony to considerable elaboration in personal equipment. There is clear archæological evidence that the very finest pieces are native products, and this is particularly the case in the early Bronze age, dating about 1000 years before Christ. Fig. 89 shows part of a bronze breast-ornament of the early Bronze age in Denmark, on which the spirals have been impressed with a "tracer," also of bronze, with a certainty of hand that is little short of marvellous. Many centuries accordingly before Tacitus wrote, the inhabitants of further Germany had known how to handle bronze and gold with a touch that for decision and exactness has rarely been equalled, and were accustomed to receive and to assimilate the products of the older Mediterranean civilization to the south and east.

In accordance with what was said in the preface, there can be no pretence to claim for the indigenous Germanic art of the pre-migration epoch any high degree either of originality or of intrinsic merit. It has just been shown that the region which we have accepted as the primeval home of the race is one where the arts have flourished in different forms from very remote epochs, but this does not mean that a great artistic school grew up there, one epoch building on what had been accomplished by the

previous epoch, so that higher and higher forms were continuously evolved. On the contrary, the arts passed through successive phases, the standard rising and falling again, without any substantial progress. There was nothing accidental nor obscure about the course of this artistic history, for its different phases depend on causes that have been ably elucidated in works like Sophus Müller's *Northern Antiquities*, or the *Civilization in Sweden* of Professor Montelius. We can see that after the splendid Bronze age was over there was no special Iron age development corresponding to the Hallstatt and La Tène cultures, the effective range of which lay further to the south. Cæsar's conquest of Gaul put an end in these more southern regions to the predominance in art of the Celtic forms represented centrally at La Tène, and from this time onwards these took refuge in the western parts of the British Isles. Then with the establishment of the Empire there ensued in central and northern Europe a so-called Roman period, when the products of Roman industry were imported in considerable quantities to the north, largely in exchange for amber, the taste for which was greatly revived in Italy from the time of Nero onwards. This period, which lasted for the two or three first

Christian centuries, was not one in which much can be said about the native art of the Germanic area, but many of the best authorities are of opinion that the Germans were even at this time by no means merely receptive. One of the chief items in the "finds" of the period in northern Europe is the bronze fibula of the type known as "Provincial Roman." Some writers have assumed that these objects were all made in provincial Roman workshops and imported into the Germanic north. Almgren on the contrary pointed out the difficulty of accepting this explanation. He showed that they occur in certain local groups, and that the fibulæ of one of these groups differ from those of another. The differences are comparatively slight, but they would not exist at all if the objects had been turned out in big provincial Roman factories. Had this been the case the same forms would be found almost everywhere, or at any rate distributed without any system over a wide area. The existence of closed local groups betokens, he believes, local manufacture.

In this period of the early Empire however, Germany was in the main receptive and Roman fashions were greatly in vogue. It was different when the era of migrations began and Germany

grew aggressive in her turn. At such a time we may regard it as quite in accordance with natural likelihood that native artistic feeling should again show itself in some strength, and be prepared, if not actually to originate new motives and fashions, at any rate to treat all available artistic elements in a fresh, vigorous, and independent manner.

Among these elements Roman models and example must of course count for much. It would be absurd to deny Roman influence on the art of the Teutonic migrations, or to attempt to reduce it below a certain reasonable level. Roman influence not only existed but it bulked largely in the completed result. We might almost call it,

"Gross as a mountain, open, palpable,"

and yet at the same time it was not an overpowering influence, and it certainly did not preclude initiative on the part of the Teutonic craftsmen themselves, nor bar the way to the reception of other streams of influence setting in from non-classical regions.

Mention has already been made of the work by the late Alois Riegl of Vienna, entitled *Late Roman Artistic Industry*, in which he vindicates for the later classical civilization the credit of creating the new decorative forms and fashions which make their

appearance at the epoch of the Teutonic migrations. It has been suggested also, that, if Riegl be right in his contention, *i.e.*, if such things as animal ornament, chip-carving patterns, and the like were purely Roman inventions, we should have to assume in the fourth century beyond the Rhine and Danube, a barrenness in artistic ideas and practice which the known artistic phenomena of the European Bronze and early Iron ages do not justify. In like manner, when there is a question of the sources of inlaid jewellery or of enamel, Riegl assumes a purely Roman origin, and the acceptance of his view would involve a negation of artistic initiative not only in Germany but over the much wider field of Nearer Asia.

On Riegl's general treatment of the art of this period a word must be said. His main argument for ascribing a Roman origin to the inlaid work and enamel of the period of the migrations is that he recognizes in it the expression of certain artistic tendencies which he observes at work in the earlier Roman period before Constantine. In his view a certain artistic need or desire was taking possession of the Romans as the imperial period advanced, and this need or desire which he calls a "Kunstwollen" was satisfied by the use of colour on metal of which

the garnet inlays and enamels give evidence. He tries to establish this "Kunstwollen" as the generating factor in artistic production by combating the "materialistic" view, as he terms it, associated with the name of Gottfried Semper. Semper devoted his monumental work on *Style in the Technical and Constructive Arts*, the most philosophical book ever written upon an artistic theme, to explaining the close connection of the decorative arts with questions of use and material and process. He was the founder of the non-literary or craftsmanlike manner of regarding artistic processes, which William Morris brought into fashion in our own country, and which is now the basis of much of the work in the more progressive of our schools and colleges of art. Riegl however protests against what he calls the "materialistic" view of our age, that, as he interprets it, explains the work of art as a mechanical product of raw material, technical process and utilitarian demand, and prefers to regard the work of art as "the result of a definite and self-conscious artistic choice that establishes itself, not by subservience to, but through a contest with use and material and technique."

We need not enter into a discussion of Riegl's æsthetic principles, but his general position must be

understood if we are to account for his assertion of the Roman character of inlay and enamel. He admits freely that "almost all the innumerable examples of garnet inlay in gold which enrich our museums have been found in barbarian graves," but in his view the Roman character of the objects can none the less be established on the strength of the canons of artistic production which they illustrate. The inlaid work itself is late Roman in date, that is, it appears in Europe only after Constantine, and can only be followed back in the Roman world into earlier periods in a few isolated examples. The growth of the artistic feeling that found ultimate expression in the garnet inlay can however, he believes, be traced in other branches of Roman art, examples of which are of course abundant. Riegl accordingly claims to see the same feeling that is expressed by the late Roman inlays and enamels, in architectural monuments such as the Byzantine domed church and the Latin basilica, and in the Roman sculptured reliefs on friezes and sarcophagi. To most people the Early Christian basilican church is a product of many factors social and material, and possesses a natural history that can be traced on a basis of our knowledge of the Church life and the various circumstances of the Roman world of the time. To Riegl

it is the direct and immediate expression of a mysterious "Kunstwollen," or "artistic intent" that was seething in the breasts of the Romans of the early Empire, and finding expression in all sorts of divers forms. Exactly what this "artistic intent" was, and how these various architectural and sculpturesque monuments imperfectly expressed it until it was fully embodied in the inlaid and enamelled work, he does not very clearly explain. He describes it as the tendency to isolate the individual object in the field by sharp separation of form from form by means of colour. The garnet inlays of the migration period utter the last word of the "Kunstwollen" towards colour, and consummate what had been in progress through the earlier periods of the Empire.

The objective difficulties in the way of this view Riegl partly attempts to meet and partly defers for treatment to his second volume. His life was unfortunately cut short before this second volume was completed. The material he had left was taken in hand by Robert von Schneider, the accomplished Director of the Vienna Museum of Historical Art, but his lamented death a few months ago has again put off, perhaps indefinitely, the accomplishment of Riegl's interesting work.

ALOIS RIEGL'S THEORY

The difficulty that practically all the finds of this inlaid work, with other characteristically Teutonic products, have come to light in German graves and none in Roman, is accounted for by the disuse in the Christianized Roman provinces of tomb furniture. Roman objects similar to those which appear in Teutonic sepulchres may, it is explained, have been in evidence south of the Alps, but have perished because the tombs which should have preserved them were, owing to the influence of the clergy, kept clear of furniture. Again, the difficulty that there is plenty of older inlaid work, as for example in Egypt, is met by an attempt, not very successful, to demonstrate a difference in artistic intent between the late Roman and the Egyptian work; and a distinction too is elaborated between the polychromy of the older classical periods and the later polychromy of the garnet inlays. The existence of pieces of the migration period of undoubted oriental origin, such as the Cup of Chosroes, is explained by the suggestion that these may have been copied from late Roman examples. The Siberian inlaid work on gold, and the well-known passage in the late classical writer Philostratus, ascribing the practice of enamelling to the Gauls or the Britons, were to be discussed in the second volume.

Riegl's work is so full of original thought, and its conclusions are so keenly discussed among continental archæologists, that it has been worth while to deal with its main argument at some length. The special case which this argument seeks to prove, the Roman origin of garnet inlays, really collapses into nothing in face of a few historical facts, which will be now briefly set down.

The artistic use of coloured inlays can be carried back to a remote epoch both in Egypt and in Babylonia, and in regard to the former country the objects exhibited in London in 1910 by the British School of Archæology in Egypt were to most people a revelation. Coloured pastes, arranged to produce figure designs in undercut sinkings in stone, were then seen to have been in use at the close of the 3rd dynasty, in the fifth millennium B.C., but it is with the more delicate inlays in gold that we are here chiefly concerned.

The monumental history of this inlaid gold jewellery begins in Egypt in the time of the 12th dynasty or about 2500 B.C. That is to say, the earliest datable examples of this kind of work which we possess come from that time and place. Fig. 110, on Plate XXVIII, shows one of the very finest existing examples. The red is cornelian, the blues are

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89. EARLY BRONZE AGE SPIRALS, COPENHAGEN.

90. INLAID GOLD ARMLET FROM BALKH, IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM.

91. EAGLE IN GOLD, INLAID, FROM THE SIBERIAN TREASURE IN THE HERMITAGE, ST. PETERSBURG.

92. GRECO-SCYTHIAN GOLD WORK AT ST. PETERSBURG.

glass pastes. It is from Dahshur, in the Cairo Museum. The British Museum has recently acquired a small Egyptian headdress in gold set with inlays of lapis lazuli dating about 1000 B.C., and some early Greek gold jewellery of the Mycenæan period from Ægina, dating from about the same time, is inlaid in exactly the same fashion. Rather later may be placed certain inlaid objects of ivory, probably of Phœnician manufacture, that were found in the north-west palace at Nimrud in Assyria. Numerous examples of inlaid work in Egypt bring us in point of date to the period of the rise of the Persian monarchy, within the vast domains of which both Egypt and also Hellenic Ionia were in the sixth century included. The splendour of the jewels worn by the Persians was proverbial, and ancient writers mention a famous golden vine in the chamber of the Persian monarch, which had its clusters of grapes made of all kinds of precious stones such as emeralds and Indian carbuncles. The recent excavations carried on by the French on the site of Susa, one of the Persian capitals, the "Shushan the palace" of Scripture, brought to light in 1902 objects of gold jewellery set with coloured stones which came from the tomb of a lady of the period, about 500 B.C., and of which M. Babelon writes that "the setting of gems in gold

mounts of marvellous delicacy has not in any civilization attained a higher level than in Achæmenian Susa."

Leaving Persian inlaid work for the moment we must turn our eyes northwards, eastwards and westwards from that country to the regions first of Bactria, next of Siberia, and lastly of southern Russia, all of which regions are connected with remarkable examples of this kind of work.[1] In 1877 a considerable treasure in gold objects was discovered on the river Oxus, near Balkh the ancient capital of Bactria. The bulk of the objects are now in the British Museum. Amongst them is a gold armlet terminating in two winged monsters, whose bodies and wings are covered with cloisons in which were once set coloured stones, one fragment of which, probably lazulite, is still in position (fig. 90). Many converging lines of evidence traced by Mr. Dalton in his *Treasure of the Oxus* go to prove the date of this treasure to be about the fourth century B.C., and the place of manufacture of the majority of the objects to be Persia.

In connection with this Treasure of the Oxus at-

[1] The regions in question are displayed upon the Map U, reduced, by the kind permission of the author and the Trustees of the British Museum, from Mr. Dalton's *Treasure of the Oxus.*

tention must be called to a very large class of objects in the precious metals, for the most part inlaid, that have been found over a considerable portion of hither Asia and south-eastern Europe, from the Yenisei in Siberia to Vettersfeld in Prussia. The openness of the whole of this vast region of plains (see Map U) rendered the transmission of culture-influences from end to end of it an easy matter, and Mr. Dalton remarks that "the Scythic-Siberian style" "maintained an unmistakable character from the Yenisei to the Carpathians" and may in time "have extended over a period of at least six or seven centuries." Siberian art of this order is represented by some extraordinary objects in massive gold set with turquoises and carbuncles, that in point of artistic style are quite *sui generis*, and are among the treasures of the Hermitage Museum at St. Petersburg. One of the most famous of these is an eagle of gold, set with gems, that holds in its

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Map of Nearer Asia. From *Treasure of the Oxus.*

talons an antelope of a species characteristic of this region, fig. 91. Other objects that probably originated to the north of the Black Sea, show a mixture of classical motives, derived from the Greek colonies of the region, with those of a barbaric character which for want of a better term we can qualify as "Scythian." An excellent example is the remarkable piece of open-work in gold, set with gems, at the Hermitage, shown in fig. 92. Meanwhile if we return to Persia we obtain examples of assured provenance and within certain limits of assured date, that carry down the history of inlaid gold work in that region to the sixth or seventh centuries A.D., by which time it was already well established and flourishing among the Teutonic peoples. The principal objects to note in this connection are, first, a golden relic box in the British Museum, fig. 93, set with garnets and green stones, found in a Buddhist tope near Jalalabad in India and dated by coins found with it to about the middle of the second century of our era.

Second, a rectangular plaque, perhaps part of a girdle ornament or clasp, at Wiesbaden, found in a Frankish tomb at Wolfsheim. It is encrusted with garnets and has on the back in old Pahlavi characters the name "Ardashir" or "Artaxerxes." There

were two Sasanian sovereigns of the name, and the object may date either in the first part of the third or the last part of the fourth century A.D.

Third, the famous Cup of Chosroes, a later Sasanian sovereign, about 600 A.D., in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris. The gold of the cup, or shallow bowl, is pierced, and the openings are filled in with transparent coloured and engraved discs, seen by transmitted light.

It is beyond reasonable doubt that the Goths learned the fashion of this work when they were settled in the third and fourth centuries in southern Russia, and that they transmitted it to those other Teutonic peoples with whom they came into local contact. In the same way we can explain the appearance in the west in this period of those curious oriental (that is, Persian) and barbarous or Scythian motives which are in evidence in objects like those forming the treasures of Petrossa and of Nagy Szent Miklos, and in a less prominent form in so many other objects of the migration period. One of these motives is the griffin, a creature whose habitat is the Scytho-Greek zone of culture inland from the north coast of the Black Sea. The griffin is prominent in a certain class of works of art in Hungary, that are a puzzle to archæologists, and are known as the " Keszthely

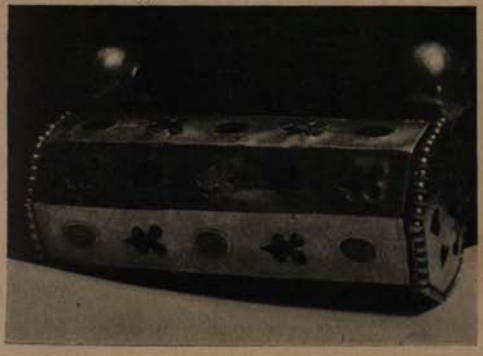
group," and occurs also in Teutonic work in other regions. It is derived from the Euxine district.

A beautiful gold brooch in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, with garnet inlays, and with the rare feature of its pendants still preserved, has for its main motive a griffin of this kind, fig. 94.

The inlaid work here spoken of became popular among all the peoples in the southern zone, including the Jutes, and to a less extent the Saxons, of our own country. It only appears sporadically in Scandinavian art and then chiefly in Gotland, where it occurs commonly in a certain class of fibulæ which have technical affinities with those found in Kent. It is equally foreign to the art of the Angles in Britain, a fact that confirms the view of Hoops and others that, whereas the main body of the Anglian settlers in north-eastern Britain came directly over sea from Schleswig, the Jutes and the Saxons entered the country by the way of the Rhineland and of Gaul, where they had been open to southern, ultimately Gothic, influences.

A striking proof of the attractiveness for the Teutonic eye of this inlaid work, is the fact that in northern Gaul and the Rhineland it superseded the popular and very pleasing Gallo-Roman enamel work which had been flourishing in the previous

PLATE XXIV



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93. INLAID RELIQUARY FOUND IN A BUDDHIST TOPE, BRITISH MUSEUM.

94. GOLD BROOCH IN BIBLIOTHÈQUE NATIONALE, PARIS.

95. TERMINAL OF IRON MOUNT ON LOMBARD COFFIN, INNSBRUCK.

96. DAMASCENED SPEAR BLADE, BURGUNDIAN OR FRANKISH, AT FRIBOURG.

period, and a notice of which from the technical point of view will find a place in the next chapter.

This inlaid gold jewellery is the central artistic fact of the period with which we are concerned, and upon the view we take of its provenance and history depends our answer to the question that forms the title of the present chapter. If there be agreement with the view here stated, that the technique is not classical but oriental, and that its adoption by the Germanic peoples showed at once their independent taste and their readiness to adopt from any available source motives which suited that taste, then we must reject the theory of Riegl and his school, and emancipate the Germans from that supposed dependence on Roman fashions which has been elevated in some quarters into an article of faith. If the technique be essentially, though not of course in its origin, Teutonic, this fact is enough to vindicate for Germanic art the independence here claimed for it; while the wide diffusion of the technique among so many of the branches of the race is another fact of great significance in its bearing on the intercourse that must have existed among these often widely sundered and mobile tribes.

CHAPTER X

TECHNICAL PROCESSES AND MATERIALS USED IN THE PERIOD

The forging of arms, damascening, tausia-work, and plating. Sheet metal work. Bronze casting and chasing. Punched and stamped ornament. Filigree and granulated work, and its imitation in stamping.

Niello. Enamel, its previous history and the technical processes in use in the migration period. The materials and technique employed in inlaying.

IT is proposed in the present chapter to take up the subject matter from the side of technique and to attempt to discover how the various objects were made, and whether the materials and the technique were in each case such as the native Teutonic craftsman could command. We will begin with the craft of blacksmith and armourer, which will remind us that we are dealing with a period of the Iron age, and will then go on to other metals and processes of metal work, advancing to the use of black or

coloured substances on the surface of metal in the form of niello, enamel and inlays.

The umbos of the shields were certainly made by the native armourer, and these are beaten up out of plate iron in a manner that reflects much credit on the hammerman. The metal is sometimes quite thin, but at other times has a substance that would in modern work suggest the process of casting. The manipulation of the points or studs at the apex of the umbos is very skilful, and those interested in the armourer's craft would probably find here some technical points of interest. For one thing these particular pieces of armour are not falsifications of *c.* 1850! A very pretty piece of fancy smithing may be seen in fig. 95, which shows one of the terminals of the iron mounts on the coffin of the Lombard chief mentioned on page 108. The welds can be detected on a close inspection.

The forging of an axe-head was a simple piece of smithing, that of socketed spear heads much more elaborate. There are here three features, the blade, the central rib, and the hollow socket, and the treatment of the rib often shows great deftness in the hammer strokes. Fig. 23 on Plate VI is a good example.

The spear head, like the sword blade, might be

damascened, and as an example may be taken the central strip of the blade shown in fig. 96.

True damascening is the province of the smith, and consists in a method of forging steel that results in toughness of quality and a decorative treatment of the surface. It should be distinguished from the processes of inlaying or plating one metal into or upon a metal of another colour, as for instance gold or silver into or upon iron, to which processes the term is in common parlance too often applied. In damascening, wires, strips, plates, etc., of steel or iron, of different forms and varied in composition or in degrees of hardness, are laid side by side in any desired pattern, heated, and welded together on the anvil. A slight treatment of the surface with weak acid, or exposure for a time to the action of the earth or of the atmosphere, brings to light slight differences in colour or texture among the pieces thus united, and with a little ingenuity, by twisting the piece and then hammering it out again, or by similar artifices, all sorts of wavy patterns can be produced.

The best proofs of Teutonic skill in this craft are to be found in the numerous sword-blades discovered in the Nydam Moss in Schleswig (*ante*, p. 30), the great majority (90 per cent.) of which are treated in

PLATE XXV

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97. ROMAN INLAID DAGGER SHEATHS AT MAINZ.

98. SILVER PLATING AND DETACHED PIECES OF FOIL, MUSEUM AT NAMUR.

99. INLAID IRON BUCKLE AT MAINZ.

100. TIN OVERLAYS ON POTTERY, FROM SWISS LAKE DWELLINGS, LAUSANNE.

this fashion. Damascened blades are often referred to in the heroic poems such as *Beowulf*, and there is historical evidence in one of the letters of Cassiodorus written in the name of Theodoric the Ostrogoth to Thrasamund, king of the Vandals in north Africa, in which he thanks his brother-in-law for a gift of swords, spathas, "more precious for the quality of their blades than for their golden mountings. Their gleaming surface is polished like a mirror, and their edge is so true that they seem to have flowed like liquid from the furnace. The middle of the blades is hollow, and in this one can discern an appearance as of twisted worms that gives an effect of changing light as if the steel were of many colours."

A common technical method for the ornamental treatment of weapons was the inlay or plating, sometimes called "damascening" but better to be known, when it is real inlay, as "tausia-work," by a term used by Vasari and probably derived from an Arabo-Spanish word meaning "to decorate."

Everyone is familiar with what is popularly known as "damascened armour," in which the dark surface of the steel ground is covered with scroll work or other patterns in gold, and it is commonly assumed that the gold is inlayed in channels previously cut in the ground. This is however but rarely the case,

and it will usually be found that we are dealing not with inlay but with plating. An examination of the surface in a part of the pattern whence the gold has disappeared will generally show that the gold only lay on the surface, and adhered to it because the ground had been roughened and provided with a slight tooth which held the gold foil when it was hammered down over it. It involves much more trouble when the undercut sinkings have to be chiselled out in the metal of the ground. The Germanic craftsman was an adept in both these processes, which he probably learned from the Romans. There are silver inlays on some Roman dagger sheaths at Mainz, fig. 97, that show the sort of models which would be available. The Teutons used both inlaying and plating, the latter most commonly, and lavished them with great elaboration on objects like the big iron buckles and buckle plates, which are of all others most Teutonic in character and least like anything made in Roman workshops. This fact may be taken to illustrate on the one hand the originality and on the other the dependence of the Teutonic craftsman.

From the technical point of view there is no mystery about true inlaying, but the exact process of the plating, which involved the production of very ela-

borate designs, and in which we find what seem to be broad strips of silver really made up of thin parallel ribbons about three quarters of a millimetre wide, is not very clear. The iron has always been too corroded in the specimens examined by the writer for any roughening to have left a trace. The silver foil was of a certain substance, for portions of it have come away bodily with the pattern cut out in them. Fig. 98, from the Museum at Namur, shows this. True inlaying occurs on the iron buckle at Mainz, fig. 99. The Alemannic spear head, fig. 23, on Plate VI, seems to have been plated.

A process much in vogue was that of tinning. The decorative use of tin was known among the Swiss Lake Dwellers, and pottery has been found at Corcelette on the Lake of Neuchâtel with strips of tin cemented on to it, fig. 100. The technique may have survived in central Europe and been handed on to the Teutons without any Roman intervention. The Germanic use of the metal was in the form of plating, a very easy technical process that served to protect the surface beneath like the nickel coating of a bicycle frame. The buckle shown in fig. 105 has been tinned. It is not always easy to tell tinning from plating in silver, which, as we have seen, was also common in our period. Gold

is found plated over iron as well as over bronze, copper, and silver.

The working of sheet metal, usually silver, introduces us to some other processes of interest. An early class of fibulæ very classical in their aspect are made of sheet silver, and have their surfaces generally left plain. Examples have been given in fig. 51, on Plate XIII.

Silver plates are often enriched by repoussé work and then afterwards attached to the surface of iron, as in a piece of work found in Belgium, Gallo-Roman in design but Frankish in technique, shown in fig. 101, and in a buckle plate ornamented with a remarkable design in beaten silver, to which reference will later on be made, in the Museum at Fribourg, fig. 102; while gold plates are similarly treated before they are made to adhere to a ground of bronze or of silver. Of pure repoussé work not laid over a ground, perhaps the most beautifully executed example in the whole period is that on the famous Ormside bowl in the Museum at York. Its provenance and date are a little doubtful, but the fact that the eyes of the creatures introduced into the design have been inlaid with rock crystal brings it into the class of work characteristic of this period. In comparatively rudely executed work, like that

on the Lombard crosses in gold foil, the relief was often secured by beating the gold or silver plate over or into a mould of hard wood or of metal that had previously been cut to shape.

This introduces us to a remarkable discovery made in Hungary of a number of moulds in bronze over which sheet silver or gold was intended to be beaten. They are with one exception positive, not negative, moulds, so that the sheet metal was beaten over, not into, them. They were found to the number of about two score under conditions that cast a light upon the constantly recurring question of "native manufacture" against "import." They came to light in a gravel bed that had once formed a bank of the river Maros and with them were the bones of a horse. It is supposed that a travelling goldsmith with his stock-in-trade was drowned when crossing a ford of the river on horseback, and that we have before us the implements with which he would go round the country, like the more modern tinker, tempting the country-women to invest in a bit of gold or silver finery which he would fabricate under their eyes. Figs. 103 and 104 illustrate this interesting find. Fig. 103 gives a view of the moulds and fig. 104 shows silver ornaments beaten to shape over them. The objects are in the Museum at Buda-Pest.

Bronze casting on a fairly large as well as on a small scale is well represented in the tombs. The most characteristic object of the former kind is the bronze bowl, which we have seen to be a fairly common concomitant of a burial in the Rhineland and in south-eastern England. See fig. 84 on Plate XXI.

Bronze casting on a small scale is largely used for the production of fibulæ and buckles. Forged buckles of iron were often attached to the leather or folded linen of the belt by rivets of iron or bronze, the round heads of which projected in decorative fashion on the upper surface of the buckle plate. When buckles of a similar form were moulded in bronze similar round-headed rivets are sometimes used, as in the tinned bronze buckle at Brussels shown in fig. 105, but as a rule certain tongues were cast on to the under surface of the plate, which passed through slits in the band and were fastened on the other side with transverse pins (fig. 106). It is curious however to find still the old projecting round heads of the rivets, as in fig. 107, reproduced in the casting on the upper surface of the buckle plate, though they are now purely decorative. This would seem to show that the forged iron buckle preceded the cast bronze one in typological develop-

PLATE XXVI

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101. SILVER REPOUSSÉ WORK OVER GROUND OF IRON, NAMUR.

102. SILVER PLATE OF BEATEN WORK, OVER IRON, BURGUNDIAN, FROM FÉTIGNY.

103. MOULDS FOR SHEET METAL ORNAMENTS FROM FONLAK, HUNGARY.

104. SHEET METAL ORNAMENTS MADE OVER THESE.

PLATE XXVII

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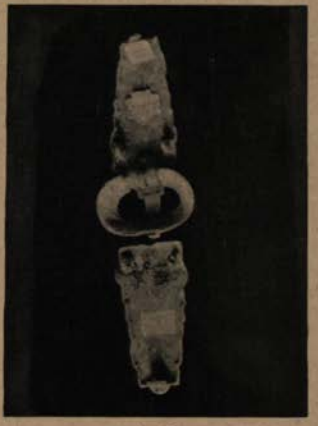

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105. TINNED BRONZE BUCKLE WITH DETACHED STUDS, AT BRUSSELS.

106. CAST BRONZE BUCKLE AT BRUSSELS, BACK VIEW SHOWING TECHNIQUE OF ATTACHMENTS.

107. CAST BRONZE BUCKLE PLATE WITH STUDS AT BONN.

108. FIBULA FROM THE TRENTINO, WITH PUNCHED ORNAMENT.

ment. The buckle, as we have already seen (*ante*, p. 133), is a comparatively late object belonging entirely to the Iron age, and with no Bronze-age traditions at its back, such as those which affected the fibula.

Bronze castings are often a good deal worked over by the chasing tools, and this is especially the case when there are figures or animals represented. One can often see the "burr" produced by the use of a strong graver to emphasize lines, and these are very apparent on the surface of fig. 105. Whole patterns are sometimes hewn out of solid metal by the chisel, and compartments formed in a similar way for the reception of enamel. The golden bowl from Nagy Szent Miklos, shown on the frontispiece, fig. 111, seems to have had the sunk parts of the pattern cut out in this fashion, to be afterwards filled with dark blue enamel.

Considerable use was made of punches and stamps to produce surface patterns and to add details to work cast and chased. The Lombard fibula of the curious local form represented in the Trentino, fig. 108, furnishes an example. The medallion of Valens, fig. 5 on Plate II, may also be quoted, and other specimens on northern bracteates are seen in fig. 115, on Plate XXIX.

Of the Germanic filigree work, which often takes the form of plaits of fine wire soldered down upon a ground, and of the ornament that consists in a string of minute globules of gold, the history is obscure. The latter occurs pretty commonly and in different degrees of excellence in execution. The best kind of work is that in which the separate globules of gold are soldered down each in its place on to the ground, but it is not uncommon for the effect to be produced by moulding a wire into a continuous beading, or by punching out a series of small round bosses in a narrow strip of sheet metal and fixing the strip bodily down in its place. The technique is only to a limited extent a Roman one but it was used very commonly in Etruscan and Greek gold jewellery, that was known, like other products of Etruscan and Greek workshops, in central Europe. It has been suggested that the German filigree work is an indirect descendant of Etruscan or Greek through the medium of La Tène work. In the case of the plaits, these also may be imitated by chasing or by punching-up an ornament that resembles them in a strip of sheet metal. These decorative processes are well represented in the early gold and silver-gilt jewels from Sackrau in the Museum at Breslau, see figs. 53, 54, on Plate

XIV, and 113, while some of the very finest existing examples of fine gold work in these techniques are found on some wonderful Scandinavian necklets at Stockholm, dating from the fifth or sixth century A.D. See fig. 115.

Niellowork consists in filling in with a black paste lines or compartments cut in the surface of metal, generally silver. It was probably not an Egyptian nor a Greek technique but was used by the Romans, and was doubtless passed on from them to the Teutonic peoples.

Enamelling consists in the fusing of coloured vitreous pastes which are really glass, on to the surface of metal or into hollow compartments formed to receive them. These compartments may be excavated in the mass of the metal or may be formed by soldering strips of metal edge upwards upon the plate into any form required. The technical terms used are "encrusted enamel," for the first kind where the enamel is spread over a surface, and "champlevé" and "cloisonné" for the other two.

The relation between enamel and inlaying is necessarily close. The resultant effect is often the same but the process is different, and it is remarkable that the Egyptians, extremely adept at coloured inlays and past masters in the manipulation of

vitreous pastes, never seem to have fused these pastes for the production of enamels. So far as we know the art was practised first in the Caucasus, about 1000 B.C., and by the Celtic peoples in Gaul and Britain in the last centuries before the Christian era. Neither the Egyptains nor the Phœnicians nor any of the Mediterranean peoples seem to have employed it, save in so far as it was practised to a limited extent and in a somewhat amateurish fashion by the Greeks from about the fourth century B.C. The Greek enamel, used on a small scale in gold jewellery, was of the thinly-fused or encrusted kind, but that of the Caucasian and Celtic enamellers, though partly encrusted, was mostly in the more substantial champlevé technique. From the Celts the Romans in Gaul acquired the art, and a very brisk manufacture of enamelled bronze brooches and other objects went on in what is now northern France, Belgium, and the Rhineland, in the first centuries of the Christian era. These brooches, the best collection of which is in the Museum at Namur, were very widely diffused over the Roman world, and the invading Teutons must have become well acquainted with them. It is somewhat remarkable that they did not take to these attractive trinkets, but preferred the inlaid work, the oriental proven-

ance of which has already been demonstrated. It is an interesting fact however that the use of enamel did not wholly die out in the migration period, and it appears sporadically both in the cloisonné and the champlevé forms.

The two techniques are united sometimes on the same piece, as in the disc from the "Peran" or "Kettlach" finds presently to be noticed, see fig. 111, where in blue roundels there are inserted little cloisons in quatrefoil form filled with red enamel, while the spaces for the blue roundels themselves are excavated out of the solid bronze ground. It has been noted that champlevé will be used where outlines are so irregular that the making of the cloisons would be troublesome, cloisons where forms are simpler or recurrent.

Fig. 111 is representative of a group of enamelled objects many of them found at Peran close by Villach in southern Austria, and all belonging to that particular Illyrian district. Much and Otto Tischler dated these about the sixth century, and they have been connected with a lovely little reliquary in gold of that epoch, found at Pola and now in the Vienna Museum, in which dark blue enamel is used. More recently however Paul Reinecke has contested this date and claimed the objects as Carolingian.

We are not however dependent on the Peran-Kettlach group for the chronology of enamel in the migration period, for one of the fine silver-gilt fibulæ from the second Szilagy Somlyo find at Buda-Pest, of fourth or fifth century date and Gothic provenance, has on its head, shown in fig. 112, a disc of cloisonné enamel. A champlevé piece, apparently early, is at Buda-Pest, and there are a few specimens from the territory of the Franks in pure migration-period style that show attempts at enamelling combined with inlays. There are specimens at St. Germain, Nuremberg, Worms, etc.

The St. Germain piece, fig. 114, was found at Waben, Pas de Calais; it shows in open work the familiar motive of the griffin (?) drinking, and the incised parts are filled in with a greenish paste that may be disintegrated enamel.

The Iron Crown of Lombardy at Monza, of the beginning of the seventh century, shows cloisonné enamel, and the reliquary of St. Maurice, shown in fig. 3 on Plate I, has enamel on the upper ridge, where stones for inlaying would have had to be cut with rounded facets. These and other pieces show the continuity of the technique through the migration period, and form an important link of connection between the earlier enamel work and the Rhine-

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109. COLOURED GLASS BEAD NECKLACE WITH PENDANTS, MUNICH.

110. INLAID PECTORAL OF THE 12TH DYNASTY OF EGYPT, CAIRO MUSEUM.

111. FIBULA FROM PERAN BY VILLACH, SHOWING CHAMPLEVÉ AND CLOISONNÉ TECHNIQUE.

112. CLOISONNÉ ENAMEL ON FIBULA FROM SZILAGY SOMLVO IN HUNGARY, FOURTH OR FIFTH CENTURY, A.D.

land champlevé and Byzantine cloisonné enamels of the later middle ages.

The technique of inlaying is quite simple in theory, but the construction of the cloisons and the accurate adjustment to these of the pieces that have to fill them is a matter which demanded at times the very nicest skill. In the sketch of the history of the technique given in the last chapter, certain oriental examples were adduced, wherein the coloured inlays are introduced into apertures in the metal, and are seen in some cases, as in the Cup of Chosroes, by transmitted, in other cases, as in the Wiesbaden girdle ornament, by reflected light. This inlaying by a kind of champlevé process into excavated receptacles occurs in our period, in objects from the Treasure of Petrossa, see fig. 4 on Plate I, where the inlays are transparent, and fig. II, frontispiece, where they are set with opaque backgrounds. As a rule however, in Teutonic work, the inlays are set in cloisons, formed by bending to shape and soldering edge upwards on a ground thin strips of gold or other metal. Where the material of the coloured inlay is transparent, the effect is heightened by the introduction beneath of bright gold foil stamped with a sort of diaper, the reflections from which flash through the coloured film. The colour

of the inlay is usually red and the material is Indian garnet. Glass pastes are used for the blues and greens which also occur, though more sparingly.

The garnets and the pastes are most commonly cut flat and sunk in the cloisons, the edges of which, intervening between the coloured patches, produce the decorative effect desired. At times however the stones or pastes are raised above the surface and set, as the phrase goes, *en cabochon*, and in this case are generally rounded, carbuncle-fashion. As specimens of flat inlaying the ornaments of Childeric's sword, fig. IV, frontispiece, and the round fibula at Brussels, fig. 39 on Plate X, may be referred to, while stones and pastes set *en cabochon* may be seen in fig. 38 on Plate X, a superb and historically important jewel of the last half of the fourth century, and in fig. 112 on Plate XXVIII.

A peculiarity of the numerous round jewelled fibulæ found in Jutish graves in Kent is the setting of gems on a basis of a white substance, cut into the form of circular dome-shaped buttons, on the summits of which are fixed small carbuncles. A characteristic specimen is shown in fig. 40 on Plate X. These buttons are sometimes half-an-inch in diameter. It has never been ascertained what the material is of which they are composed, and whether

or not the substance is always the same. Carbonate of lime certainly enters largely into the composition of various examples to which the writer has been able to apply chemical tests, but the material is generally much degraded, and the analyst has hitherto been baffled. For the present purpose the peculiarity is of value as differentiating the Kentish brooches from those of similar form in Gaul and the Rhineland. On the Continent the use of a white substance of the kind is extremely rare, and collections of Frankish, Alemannic and Burgundian jewels hardly yield a specimen, while in Kent the use is normal, and this fact is enough to show that these objects were of local fabrication, and not distributed from any common centres. It is a very interesting fact however that this same white substance, or a similar one, occurs in certain inlaid brooches of the period found in the Scandinavian island of Gotland, one of which, from the collection of Mr. James Curle, is shown in fig. 116.

CHAPTER XI

PROBABLE SOURCES AND HISTORY OF TEUTONIC ORNAMENT

Magnitude and complexity of the subject. Teutonic art of the migration period in its relation to other artistic developments with which it is connected.

Grouping of the ornamental motives under consideration: (1) geometrical motives, (2) motives drawn from plant sources, (3) animal motives, (4) the human form and face.

THE title of this, the penultimate chapter of the present little book, might serve as headpiece for a very portly volume. A large and complicated subject is indicated by it, and this it is impossible within existing limits to do more than touch. The object of the book, as explained at the outset, is to offer to the general reader a survey of the subject of early Teutonic art and craftsmanship, and to the student an introduction to the further pursuit of it, which may be conducted along several different lines. One of these lines of study is typological,

PLATE XXIX

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113. ORNAMENTS FROM SACKRAU, WITH GRANULATED WORK, ETC., BRESLAU MUSEUM.

114. FRANKISH BUCKLE AT ST. GERMAIN MUSEUM, PROBABLY ENAMELLED.

115. PORTIONS OF GOLDEN NECKLETS AND MOUNTED BRACTEATES AT STOCKHOLM.

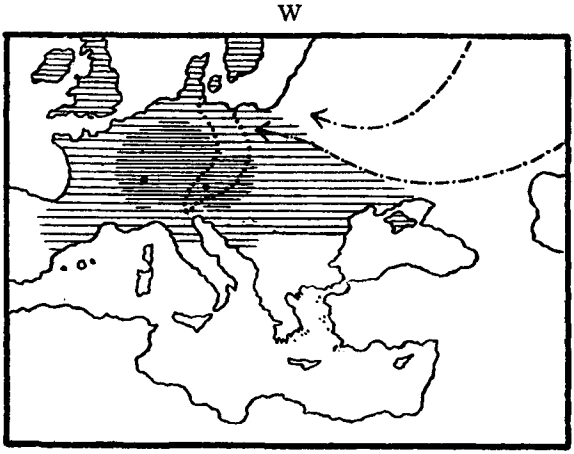
116. GOTLAND BROOCH IN THE COLLECTION OF MR. JAMES CURLE, SHOWING USE OF WHITE SUBSTANCE.

and leads to a close analysis of the forms of objects with a view to establishing among them a chronological scheme of development, after the fashion in which Dr. Haakon Schetelig has recently reviewed and classified the Cruciform Brooches of Norway. Another line of study is that of comparative ornament, where the method is also typological, though it is the enrichment of the objects rather than their forms that is held in view.

In view of the great extent of this field of investigation, all that can be attempted here is a general survey and statement of the chief problems which it offers to the student.

A glance at Map W will be useful for purposes of orientation. The geographical and chronological positions of this Teutonic art of the migration period have been already indicated,—see *ante*, pp. 4–7. In time it was preceded immediately by a period of Roman influence in the north in the first two or three centuries of the Christian era. This influence from Mediterranean lands was no new thing, for there were old-established trade routes from Italy to northern Europe, two of which, over the Brenner and over the Julian Alps, are shown on the map, but in the period just indicated it became predominant. At the same time the

way was always open for Oriental, Greco-Scythian, and perhaps Siberian influence to stream inwards towards the north-west, in the directions indicated by the arrow-headed lines. Open plains stretch continuously from the Caucasus and Ural Mountains



Map showing the extension of "Hallstatt" and "La Tène" culture, the Roman trade routes from Italy to the North, and the lines indicating influence from the East.

to the North Sea, and some antiquaries believe that this vast superficies formed a single archæological area, and that this fact is sufficient to account for the Greco-Scythian gold-find at Vettersfeld in the Nieder Lausitz, without the hypothesis of any merely fortuitous importation.

Before this Roman period Celtic art had prevailed in central Europe, and while the older "Hallstatt" culture, shown by the darker shading, was in the main confined to a zone encircling the Alps from Croatia on the east to Provence on the west, the later La Tène culture of the last centuries B.C., shown on the map by lighter shading, extended its influence in a very much wider circle. It is a very interesting and important fact, that may again be recalled to the reader's mind, that while after Cæsar's conquests Roman influence superseded that of La Tène in central Europe, the latter, in the form known as "Late Celtic," took refuge in the north and west of the British Isles, where, after a comparatively unfruitful period, it blossomed out in the seventh and eighth centuries A.D. into a wonderful æsthetic activity in carving, in metal work, and in the illumination of manuscripts.

The Teutonic art of our period accordingly, covering chronologically the centuries from the fourth to the ninth, may have been affected by old classical, by oriental, and by Celtic traditions before it began to take form and substance of its own. The direct Roman influence of the earliest Christian centuries was of course nearer and more powerful, and must always be reckoned with. After the

migration period had begun, we have seen already how oriental elements appear at once in Teutonic art and seem as important as Roman, while on the other hand though the Teutonic tribes were now in central Europe where La Tène culture can hardly have passed wholly out of existence, it is very difficult to find anything of proved Celtic derivation in Teutonic ornament. In our own country the well-known but still enigmatical enamelled mounts to the bronze bowls, which appear to belong to the early Saxon period, supply in their flamboyant ornament and trumpet-ended spirals a distinct overlap, but on the Continent examples of the kind can hardly be said to exist.

On the other hand, if Teutonic art have little connection with the phases of Celtic art that preceded it, its relation to the later Celtic art of the Christian period in Britain was close and intimate, so that it is an open question whether the Celtic art of the Christian period in the British isles did not owe most of its characteristic motives to the Teutonic art of the migration period. The fact that in some cases these motives were developed by the Celtic artist to more elaborate and beautiful forms than they had assumed in Teutonic hands has disinclined some of the Celtic experts to admit

this derivation, for which however there is much to be said. Dr. Salin has made it quite clear that certain ornaments in black and white, in the beautiful penmanship of the early Irish MSS. such as the Book of Durrow, reproduce in a somewhat unnatural and laboured technique the effect of the gold cloisons that hold the garnet inlays in the early Teutonic brooches. The special form of these cloisons that most constantly recurs is the step form (see examples on Plate X), and this is found reproduced in the Irish penmanship. If the assumed derivation be established in the case of these geometrical motives, this would be an argument in favour of the general theory of the relation between the two artistic phases that has been indicated above. We are not however concerned with the after history of the Germanic motives, so much as with their origin, and their development within the Teutonic area.

The motives of ornament with which we have to deal may be conveniently grouped under four main heads, according as they are (1) geometrical; or drawn, (2) from plant sources, (3) from the animal kingdom, (4) from the human form.

The geometrical ornaments vary from mere dots, as in fig. 108 on Plate XXVII, to small patterns

such as those which go to make up bookbinders' geometrical designs. Of these Salin has given some analysis. There is one pattern quite on a small scale that consists in the repetition of triangles, each one surmounted by a small circle. This occurs as an ornament added by the Gothic goldsmith to the borders of the great golden medallions with imperial portraits at Vienna, that date from the latter part of the fourth century A.D., and one of which is given in fig. 5 on Plate II. In Scandinavia it is common in the ornamentation of bracteates, a class of objects referred to *ante*, p. 155, and shown in some specimens in fig. 115, and also on other objects of northern manufacture. It occurs too in France, Belgium, and England. There is no feature in the art of the time that furnishes a more striking proof of the element of uniformity which runs through the various phases of the Germanic art of the migration period.

The so-called "chip-carving" patterns (see fig. 9 on Plate III), which may be conveniently classed as "geometrical" though sometimes derived ultimately from organic forms, set a problem to the investigator. They have the appearance of forms cut in wood, and in wood carving they are still used in the Teutonic north. Now the fact that the

PLATE XXX

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117. BRONZE BUCKLE, WITH INTERLACING ORNAMENT, COLLECTION OF THE ACADEMY, MUNICH.

118. PORTION OF EARLY GERMANIC HELMET AT VIENNA, WITH REPOUSSÉ ORNAMENT SHOWING THE VINE WITH BIRDS.

119. OBJECTS OF THE "KESZTHELY GROUP" AT BUDA-PEST.

120. LEOPARDS FLANKING END OF BUCKLE PLATE, FROM SAMSON, MUSEUM AT NAMUR.

Runic characters were expressly shaped to be cut in timber is a positive proof of the familiar use among the ancient Germans of the knife on wood, and incline us to claim these patterns as native Teutonic products. We must remember too that the wooden buildings of Attila's headquarters in Hungary, in the middle of the fifth century, were partly constructed ἐκ σανίδων ἐγγλύφων, "of beams ornamented with incised sculpture," and were probably German work. On the other hand these same patterns, in the form of sunk stars, etc., are found on Roman sculptured altars, as at Chester, at Newcastle, and elsewhere, and have led some to vindicate the motives as Roman. We are reminded of what was said on an earlier page, *ante* p. 32, about the interpenetration of Germanic and classical cultures which rendered possible an influence from north to south as well as one in a northerly direction. The patterns occur on Roman stones of a fairly early imperial date, but, as we saw that Germans fought in the Roman army even under Julius Cæsar, this date is not too early for the Romans to have adopted them from their northern auxiliaries. Such motives as these are abnormal in classical work as a whole. It is true that Riegl attempts to bring them under the ample umbrella of the supposed

late-Roman "Kunstwollen," but in spite of the value and interest of his book common sense really revolts against the artificiality of his fundamental scheme. On the other hand, as has just been noticed, "chip-carving" patterns are quite what we would expect in the north, and A. Haupt in his recent work on the oldest art of the Germans does well to emphasize this fact.

The scroll ornament that occurs frequently on the Saxon "saucer" fibulæ, like those from Kempston, Beds, in fig. 41 on Plate XI, and elsewhere, as in fig. 9, appears geometrical, but may quite possibly be derived ultimately from the classical acanthus scroll, with which Salin is disposed to connect it. If this were the derivation however, we should expect to find the fact betrayed by the survival of traces of the side stems given off from the main stem, which are normal in the true foliage scrolls of classical art. These survivals the writer has never chanced to find, and it may be safer to regard the motive as a form of the spiral.

The spiral occurs fairly often in early Teutonic ornament, but always in the close-coiled form presenting no traces of the divergent or trumpet-ended spirals of Celtic tradition. The close-coiled spiral is an early Bronze age motive familiar in the north,

and we have seen an example in fig. 89 on Plate XXIII. The Germanic spirals are of the same kind and may represent a survival, though on the other hand the spiral is a motive that may have been independently invented at many times and in divers places. "The Spiral in Art" is the title of a substantial volume still to be written by some expert in comparative ornament, though there is plenty of literary as well as monumental material already collected about the subject. Both the animal and the vegetal kingdoms offer in shells and tendrils and locks of hair countless natural examples of the motive, and the behaviour of thin strips of metal as they are shorn off a sheet furnishes one of those workshop suggestions the fruitfulness of which all students of ornament acknowledge. Hence the fore-history of the Germanic spiral, after all not an important or frequent motive, may be left doubtful. A Roman origin is the least likely of any that can be suggested.

Interlaced work presents us with problems somewhat similar to those connected with the spiral. The *entrelac*, to adopt the French term, resembles the spiral in that it may have been invented, or derived from wicker-work or other such source, independently at many different times and places, but

it differs from the spiral historically in that it has by no means so long a record. In one very simple form, the plaited band or guilloche, it is old-oriental and Greek, but the covering of a broad surface with interlacings occurs for the first time on a large scale in Roman mosaic pavements of the imperial period. It is one theory that these pavements, of which there are examples at home and abroad, furnished the first suggestion to the ornamentalists who laid the foundation for the immense development of the motive in the early Christian centuries. This plait work, decoratively employed to cover a surface, occurs fairly often on Teutonic buckle plates, but it is as a rule rather late than early in the period, and is comparatively rude in execution. Fig. 117, an Alemannic bronze buckle in the collection of the Academy at Munich, is a good example. The central panel is simply treated like a Roman mosaic pavement. In the part just below the hinge the bands appear to end not, as was so common, in the heads of beasts, but in what resembles leaves. There is another specimen of the work in fig. 107 on Plate XXVII. The question whether these rudimentary forms of the *entrelac*, which are all that we find on the portable objects of the migration period, can have been the origin of the elaborate and varied

motives common in the carving, metal work, and penmanship of the Christian Celtic art of the seventh and eighth centuries, would be worth investigation. Mr. Romilly Allen thought such a derivation most unlikely, but he admitted the influence of the Teutonic cloisonné jewellery on the MS. designs referred to above. The Celtic artist we must remember only needed a suggestion, and could work out with great elaboration motives which came to him from an external source in a rudimentary form.

Passing now from these geometrical motives to those derived from the plant world, we are met by the fact that the particular development of the arts of ornament with which we are concerned depended less for its inspiration on this source than almost any other historical phase of the designer's art. The appearance of a plant motive in a supposed piece of the migration period at once rouses our suspicion, and when the form of the motive suggests a debased treatment of the classical acanthus the presumption is that the piece is late and exhibits the influence of the Carolingian renaissance. An exception is to be made in the case of the vine, which appears in genuine work of the migration period and is often combined with the motive of the bird pecking at a bunch of grapes. On the history

of the vine in ornament much has been written by Strzygowski and others, and the oriental affinities of the motive have been fully demonstrated. The symbolical significance of the vine made it an acceptable motive in ecclesiastical art, while the bird amidst the foliage, a motive known in pagan Roman and even in Hellenic decoration—see carvings in the Lateran Museum and the silver vase from Nikopol in the Hermitage—came no doubt to signify in Christian eyes the soul partaking of celestial food. The most interesting use of the motive is in connection with carved crosses and slabs in the "Anglian" style in northern Britain, but the limits of this book are too narrow to admit of the discussion of this phase of our subject. Monuments of ecclesiastical art are necessarily not so purely Teutonic as the personal possessions forming part of Germanic tomb furniture, and it is with the latter that we have had almost exclusively to deal. This bird-and-vine motive does occur, though rarely, on these portable objects, as on the enriched border of an early Teutonic helmet at Vienna, shown in fig. 118. The piece is known as the four-ribbed helmet from Vid, Dalmatia.

Another exceptional use of a foliage motive is connected with a group of somewhat enigmatical

objects named after their place of discovery, the extensive necropolis of Keszthely in Hungary. This "Keszthely group" includes numerous strap ends ornamented in relief or in pierced work with conventional foliage scrolls of classical design, which, in themselves, might be late antiques or might proceed from the Carolingian renaissance of about 800 A.D. They are associated however with representations of the griffin, which carries us at once to southern Russia, and, what is a still more significant fact, with similar strap ends on which two beasts of prey are represented as pulling down a creature of the deer species. Now this is an antique motive but not a Carolingian one, and this consideration obliges us to take the view of Hampel that they are early, and are reminiscent of the connection of the Goths with the Black Sea lands; rather than that of Reinecke who makes them late, and of Salin who confesses himself puzzled but is inclined to the same opinion. Fig. 119 shows strap ends at Buda-Pest with both the foliage and the animal motives.

When we pass from the consideration of plant motives to those drawn from the world of animals, we find ourselves again confronted with problems of origin to which there is no universally accepted solution. Are the animals, which play so large a

part in the ornamentation of the migration period, of Roman or of native Germanic birth, and is the still more elaborate zoomorphic enrichment of the later Christian Celtic period derived from this earlier Teutonic source? These are questions the full discussion of which would carry us far, and on which the following must in this place suffice.

Animal ornament is admitted by all workers in this subject to be the most important artistic product of the Germans of the migration period. Salin says of it "the German animal ornament will always remain for all time a most characteristic expression of the German imagination." To Sophus Müller it is "the only really original form of art that was created by the pre-historic peoples north of the Alps." The general character of this ornament is of course very well known, for it occurs on the sculptured stones and in the metal work and MS. illumination of Scotland and Ireland in practically the same forms as those in which we find it over the Germanic area. The beasts, which are commonly called "lacertine" though as a rule they are intended for quadrupeds, that in multitudinous convolutions spread themselves over the varying surfaces of the panels on stone or brooch or pictured page, are familiar to all who take the least interest

in the art of the early Christian centuries. The forms of this zoomorphic decoration, from the time it assumed its characteristic physiognomy, say about the fifth century, to the date when on the Continent it was put on one side at the Carolingian renaissance, have been typologically analysed by Bernhard Salin with a care and an attention to detail that almost parallel Romilly Allen's classic treatment of the modifications of the interlacing pattern; but the point of chief interest in the inquiry, the origin and the earliest stages of development of the zoomorphic decoration, still remains obscure. The northern writers whose names are chiefly connected with this study hold widely divergent views as to the origin of this German animal ornament. No one of course now holds the theory that this ornament is a product of the hunter life of the people, of a similar kind to the animal delineation of palæolithic times which was the outcome of the hunter life of the cave dwellers. This theory is inadmissible for the reason that such developments of animal art begin with naturalistic representations in which not ornamental treatment but delineation is aimed at, and in the Germanic area there is little trace of a realistic treatment of beasts of the field such as comes naturally to many hunter peoples. Putting this

theory aside there are the two views represented on the one side by Sophus Müller, who believes the German animal ornament to have been developed on decorative lines from the more or less fanciful and sporadic use of animals' heads as the finish of portions of implements or pieces of furniture, and on the other side by Hildebrand, Sven Söderberg, and Salin, who find its origin in the imitation of the classically rendered animal forms that were common in Roman art.

The truth seems to lie somewhere between these two divergent views. There are undoubted traces of classical influence in some of the early forms of German beast ornament, but on the other hand there is also from the first evidence of that natural feeling for the decorative use of animals which has been shown at so many periods by so many peoples known to art history. Animal ornament, it needs hardly to be said, is not merely a classical or a Germanic fashion, but one practically universal. In connection with the question, Classical or barbaric, it must be remembered that animals in classical art were treated, if not exactly in a naturalistic manner, yet in a conventional style which preserved the dignity and specific character of the creature, as well as a true, or at any rate a plausible, anato-

mical structure. Animals of this type do make their appearance in Germanic art all through its history, though they are somewhat rare and are as a rule confined to the southern parts of the Teutonic area; these are always however quite distinct from the Germanic and later Celtic beast proper, which is barbaric in character, and in which there is no specific character nor dignity, nor the slightest attempt at plausibility in anatomical structure.

We must not moreover assume that these classical beasts are necessarily derived from Roman models. Their real origin must in any case lie further back. One of the most decorative of animals, beloved of the classical artist both in Greece and Italy, is the lion or leopard, and this is not indigenous in those peninsulas, but as he appears in their art is an importation from the east. When such creatures appear in the art of the migration period, as in the handles of the gold baskets from the Treasure of Petrossa (see fig. 4 on Plate I), or as flanking ornaments at the feet of fibulæ or the ends of buckle plates, as in fig. 120, we must use some mental reserve when we father them upon a Roman progenitor, for they are really as foreign to Roman art as to that of the Teutonic north. They may have reached the Germans by way of

the Roman provincial workshops or come to them more directly through southern Russia.

It will be sufficient to take three constantly recurring forms of Teutonic zoomorphic ornament, (1) where the animals appear as in fig. 120, (2) where the head of a beast forms the termination of a fibula foot, of a penannular neck- or arm-ring, of the tip of a buckle pin, or any similar object, and (3) where it is employed as decorative filling for a panel or similar space. In the case of the first, we have already seen that the character of the flanking creature makes it certain that the motive was a borrowed one. If we go further and demonstrate that it must have been borrowed from a Roman source, we are yet far from having proved that *all* Germanic animals were taken over from the later classical art. Take for example the second form, the terminal head. This is too common a motive in the decorative work of the ancient and medieval worlds for the hypothesis of a specially Roman origin to have much intrinsic weight. The terminal head becomes almost universal at the foot of the square-headed fibulæ that are so common in the north, but if we are asked to believe that Roman example placed it there, we may reply with the query, Why then did not the Romans use the

terminal head for their own cross-bow fibulæ, the square foot of which seems almost to cry out for a zoomorphic treatment, that is however never accorded to it?

A very curious phenomenon is illustrated in fig. 121 which shows a portion of one of the decorative friezes from the Roman monument at Adamklissi in the Dobruja, that Professor Toelescu has brought to Bucharest. The head of a wolf-like creature is added as a terminal to a foliage scroll of orthodox antique style. This is quite unclassical, and is to be regarded as a symptom, abnormal in this special place, of the tendency in the times towards the multiplication of animal motives in decoration. Fig. 70 on Plate XVIII shows how naturally a head comes in as a termination to a neck ring.

The animal form that fills a space like a panel becomes a very characteristic motive in Teutonic ornament, and a little later it is employed more abundantly still in the Celtic art so often referred to. Its early history is obscure.

The earliest datable examples of the animal form used in this way, so to speak on the flat, occur on the often mentioned fibulæ at Buda-Pest from the second treasure hoard of Szilagy Somlyo. This

hoard is supposed by Hampel and others to be rather later than the first hoard with the medallions, but von Pulszky, who published them in 1890, thought both sets of objects contemporary and of the last part of the fourth century A.D., and there seems nothing to contradict this very natural supposition. On the fibula shown in fig. 47 on Plate XII there is a plastically treated lion of oriental-classical tradition, but beneath his paws he holds an amorphous kind of creature that has been called a griffin. On another pair of fibulæ in the same set there appear in the midst of the encrusted garnets two wriggling worm-like creatures with open jaws that are entirely barbaric. The fibulæ themselves are Gothic, not classical, in technique and details, and these flat animal forms have nothing about them that is in the least like Greek or Roman work.

On the other hand, if we turn our attention towards the diagonally opposite corner of the Roman empire, we find in the Rhenish and Belgian museums and those of north-eastern France objects in which Roman and barbaric elements are less easily distinguished. There are pieces of which the Roman design and workmanship are unmistakable, and that shown in fig. 122, from the valley of the Moselle, is a good example. There are also in-

numerable others of a mixed character in which barbaric taste and execution are apparent in the working out of a design of Roman origin. A Burgundian buckle from Cressier in the Museum at Lausanne, fig. 123, has the ring and pin fashioned in Roman style, while the unintelligible inscription round the square plate is thoroughly barbaric. This plate is ornamented in pierced work with two rudely executed beasts in profile opposed to each other. Such pairs of animals, and sometimes single beasts, are often represented in incised lines or by punch marks on buckles that represent the mixed style just referred to, and we may regard these and the beasts in fig. 123 as, at any rate typologically, the first stages in the development of the animal form as the filling of a panel.

This development was greatly influenced by the feeling for interlacing, which, though it does not show itself very early, becomes in later times one of the dominant feelings in the mind of the northern ornamentalist. The two beasts, that are separate and opposed in fig. 123, soon get twined together, and this process goes on until we arrive at the convoluted shapes shown in fig. 102 on Plate XXVI, that may be regarded as a normal specimen of fully developed Germanic beast ornament. The rela-

tion of animals thus treated to *entrelacs* proper must have a word. As all students of the subject know, it has been suggested that this relation was so intimate that animal ornament really grew out of the *entrelacs* by the addition of the heads of beasts to the ends of the intertwined bands, or again, conversely, that the interlaced bands are really the bodies of lacertine animals that have lost their heads and tails. Neither of these suppositions is historically correct, but it is quite true that the *entrelacs* and the animals approach each other so nearly that they combine into what is to all intents and purposes a single motive. Though the serpent form does occur, the beast was originally in almost every case a quadruped, and in the shipwreck that its anatomy generally suffers it manages very often to preserve at least a single claw. The body of the creature is however prolonged in ribbon shape, and is often delineated in exactly the same way as the band of an inorganic interlacement.

Upon the human figure as a motive in Germanic ornament there is little to be added to what was said on a previous page (*ante*, p. 19). Where the figure is correctly and effectively rendered the models for it are drawn from the Mediterranean world and not from Teutonic sources. In the genuine

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121. ROMAN FOLIAGE SCROLL WITH TERMINAL HEADS OF BEASTS, FROM ADAM KLISSI, AT BUCHAREST.

122. ROMAN BUCKLE FROM THE MOSELLE DISTRICT, IN THE MUSEUM AT BONN.

123. BURGUNDIAN BUCKLE FROM CRISSIER, AT LAUSANNE, SHOWING MIXTURE OF ROMAN AND BARBARIC MOTIVES.

124. GOLD BRACTEATE WITH BARBARIC TREATMENT OF THE HUMAN FORM, AT REGENSBURG.

barbaric decoration the human form and face suffer the strangest transformations, and a very quaint example is shown in fig. 124. This is a gold bracteate in the Museum at Regensburg on which is displayed a huge human face with two minute arms and hands uplifted on each side of it. Nothing more unclassical can well be conceived, but the motive probably has its ultimate origin in the figure of Daniel between the lions, as seen in fig. 1 on Plate I, or in the centre of the enamelled disc from Peran given in fig. 111 on Plate XXVIII.

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CHAPTER XII

ÆSTHETIC ESTIMATE OF EARLY TEUTONIC ART

What is originality in art? The work of the Greeks, the Japanese, the Celts, as compared with that of the Germans. The strong and weak points of old Teutonic design. Excellence of Germanic craftsmanship.

IF the main thesis of the preceding chapters be regarded as proved, we must accept the various objects which have been passed in review as evincing on the whole a common Germanic character, while in form, technique, and ornamentation they exhibit the influence of the different artistic cultures that preceded the migration period or were contemporary with it. It may be taken also as demonstrated that as a general rule the various objects were made in the respective Teutonic regions, and not distributed from any common centres outside the Germanic area.

Looking back for a moment as we close on Ger-

manic art as a whole, we may ask ourselves what is the æsthetic impression that it has left upon our minds? There are two questions, one of the originality of the art, the other of its intrinsic æsthetic quality.

Absolute originality in art does exist, but it is rarer than we might at first sight suppose. A good example is the use of decorative motives drawn from the life of the sea in the old Ægean or Mycenæan art now so popular. Another is the acanthus ornament of the Greeks. These are clear cases of invention, not of the development of pre-existing traditions. In the vast majority of cases however, an individual artist, or an artistic people or school, builds to a greater or less extent upon what has gone before, and however fresh and striking may be the resultant product, it cannot be called in the severe and literal sense, original. Looked at from this point of view neither the art of Greece nor that of Japan is strictly original, nor again is the beautiful decorative art of the Late Celtic period. On this the late Mr. Romilly Allen, who would do full justice to everything Celtic, has the following remarks: "Although the Celts never seem to have invented any new ideas, they possessed an extraordinary aptitude for picking up ideas from the different

peoples with whom war or commerce brought them into contact. And once the Celt had borrowed an idea from his neighbour, he was able to give it such a strong Celtic tinge that it soon became something so different from what it was originally as to be almost unrecognizable." He speaks too of "the tendency of the Celt to copy rather than invent." Originality in art accordingly does not necessarily depend on invention, but on the extent to which the borrowed or inherited suggestion can be developed into some new and striking contribution to the æsthetic treasures of mankind. The Greeks, the Japanese, the Celts, have all made such contributions. What they accomplished is something which had never been done before and can never be repeated. The individuality of creative genius is stamped upon the product, and when we call it by the name of the people that gave it birth, and by no other name, we are asserting that it is, in the broad and rational sense here contended for, an original product.

Applying this test to our Germanic art we find that it fulfils it. The term "a common Germanic character" is fully justified, although many foreign elements were worked up into the completed product that we have now come to know. A native

taste was actively at work modifying these imported elements and imparting to everything a Germanic colour, and the result stands out as a distinct, though at the same time a modest, contribution to the sum of our æsthetic possessions.

Distinct, but modest; for the qualities of Germanic art, from the purely æsthetic standpoint, do not take a very high rank. It needs hardly to be said that the early Teutonic designer could not represent natural forms either with the accuracy and spirit of the Dutch artist or with the idealizing touch of the Greek, and that he had not the gift of the Japanese craftsman of turning everything he touched to beauty.

Such comparisons are perhaps hardly fair. It is more to the point to contrast this Teutonic art with the native art of western Europe in the Late Celtic period. The Teutonic artist was inferior to his Celtic rival in the important matter of tact and self-restraint in the distribution of ornament, as well as in that other quality, equally decisive in æsthetic comparisons, the artistic use of line. A comparison has often been instituted between barbaric ornament, which tends to spread itself aimlessly over the whole field, and classical ornament as we find it among the Greeks, where it is confined to portions

of the field and derives a large part of its value from its contrast with the broadly treated background. It would not of course be just to confront barbaric work with specimens of Greek art of the finest type, but a useful comparison may be drawn between the ornamentation of the various Germanic pieces which appear on the plates of this volume, and a piece of Greek inlaid work probably of the Ptolemaic period in Egypt, shown in fig. 126. It is a portion of a platter at Buda-Pest. We note in it the firm grasp of the classical artist on the natural forms that he conventionalizes in such a highly decorative fashion. We admire the contrast of slight and fuller forms, and the careful distribution which secures a surface fully covered without crowding, and gives the plain background its part to do in the production of the effect. Celtic art at its best, as we find it for example on the Thames Shield in the British Museum (fig. 125), in the Ardagh Chalice, and some bronze pieces in the Museum of the Royal Irish Academy, and on the sumptuous pages of pure enrichment in the great manuscripts, exhibits a feeling for distribution and for the value of plain or diapered background that in its self-restraint is almost classical. Furthermore, in those splendid flamboyant curves with all their swing and freedom,

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125. THE THAMES SHIELD, LATE-CELTIC WORK, IN BRITISH MUSEUM.
126. HELLENISTIC INLAID ORNAMENT, FROM PLATTER AT BUDA-PEST.

we can recognize a delight in the beauty of pure line that is a really high æsthetic endowment, not too often represented among the artists of the world. The Teutonic artist had an eye for bold and striking decorative effects. The contrast of bright silver and dark iron pleased him on his buckles and weapons, and in the finer work on the fibulæ and pendants he delighted in the rich crimson and gold of the garnet inlays. But his ornament was all over his surface, and he lost the value of the contrast of richly treated portions of a field with plain background. As was shown however in a previous chapter, his technical achievement was superb, and his bold but at the same time refined execution gives an unmistakable air of distinction to his work.

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I. WORKS OF A GENERAL AND A HISTORICAL CHARACTER

As a treatise on the whole subject in most of its aspects, LINDENSCHMIT'S *Handbuch der Deutschen Alterthumskunde, erster Theil, Die Alterthümer der Merovingischen Zeit*, Braunschweig, 1880–1889, still remains the only work in the field; it has unfortunately no index. Dr. A. HAUPT, in his *Die Aelteste Kunst, insbesondere die Baukunst der Germanen*, Leipzig, 1909, has given in a somewhat popular style an account of the architecture, and to a minor extent of the other arts, of the Germans between the beginning of the migration period and the time of Charles the Great.

A vast apparatus of ethnographical, linguistic, literary, and antiquarian lore, bearing on the subject, is being presented in a noble monument of German scholarship, the second edition of the *Grundriss der Germanischen Philologie* edited by

HERMANN PAUL, Strassburg, 1901, etc. For the succession of styles through the Bronze Ages, Early Iron Age, etc., SOPHUS MÜLLER'S *Urgeschichte Europas*, Strassburg, 1905, is to be recommended, together with the small British Museum *Guides* to the Antiquities of the Bronze Age and Early Iron Age, 1904 and 1905.

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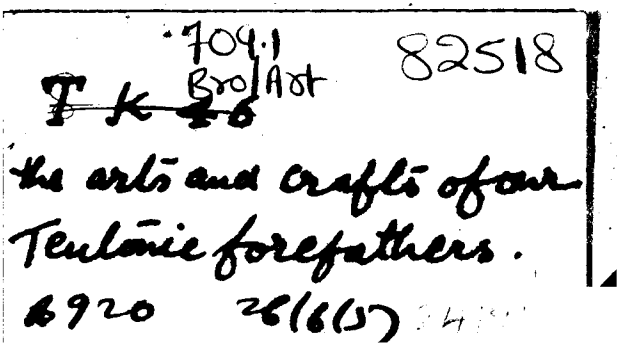

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